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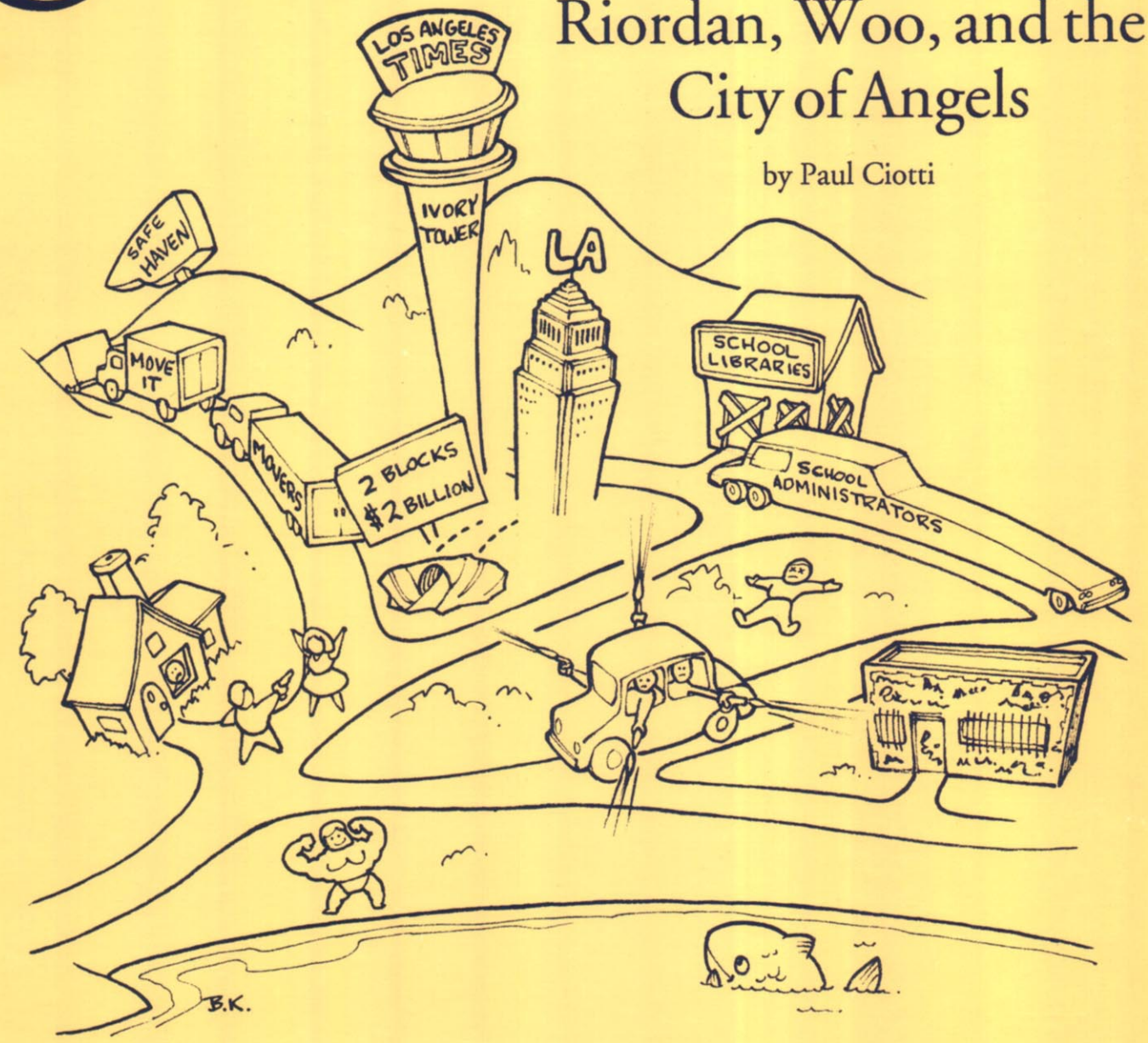
Riordan, Woo, and the City of Angels

by Paul Ciotti



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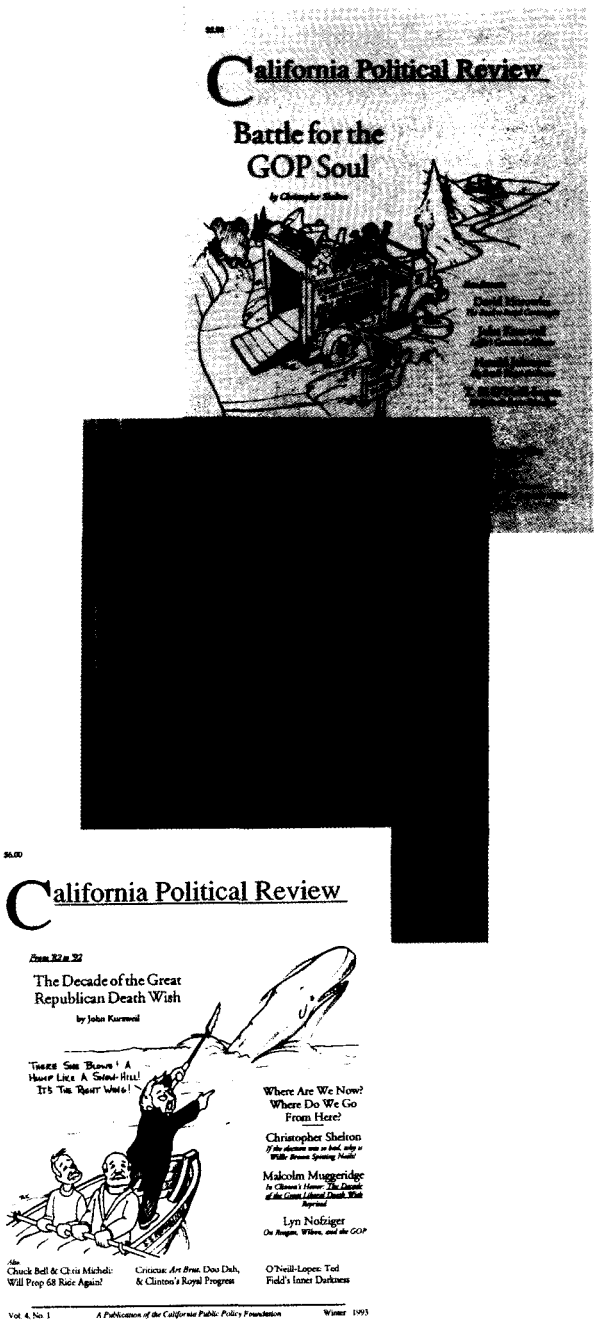

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California Political Review

Spring 1993

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Crime approaching perpetual-riot levels, a tax-base fleeing, fiscal insolvency, schools in disarray, and a social fabric shredding — nothing here, thought L.A.'s liberal establishment, to disrupt an orderly transition in the mayor's office from one of its bland functionaries to another. On April 20, however, the voters scrapped the script.

by Paul Ciotti

The Black Panther Killer Elite 20

Aided by *Time* magazine, MacNeil/Lehrer, and the *Los Angeles Times,* Elaine Brown has managed to sugarcoat her career as a political gangster, presenting herself as a feminist heroine and female victim.

by David Horowitz

San Diego's Government-Sponsored Child Abuse Industry 24

An 8-year-old's rape set off a two and one-half year officially-sanctioned reign of terror directed not against the perpetrator but against the victim herself and her parents. And, yes, this happened in America. Similar cases are ongoing today.

by K. L. Billingsley

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Correspondence

Bolshevik Remnants

I enjoyed immensely the inaugural issue of *CPR Update* (supplementing *CPR's* Winter 1993 issue). Of particular interest was "The Liars' Corner." Singling out the *Los Angeles Times* for special mention regarding their identification of the Bolshevik remnants as "conservatives" was right on target. I suspect the *Times* will supply your columnist a steady stream of material.

John Patrick Hoy
Los Angeles

Terrific Horowitz

Just read the Winter *California Political Review*. Horowitz is always terrific. Keep up your good and *important* work.

Hon. David Dreier
Covina

The Great Republican Death Wish

Regarding your courageous "Decade of The Great Republican Death Wish" (*CPR*, Winter 1993), the Republican Party cannot recover from the debacle of 1992 unless we face reality about the factions in our Party and work to discover a common agenda around which we can prosper.

Pete Wilson has been a moderate Republican throughout his career (he supported Ford against fellow Californian Reagan in 1976). As San Diego mayor he feuded with conservative Republicans on the local level as he now feuds with them statewide. He believes moderates are the Party's one true voice. But if Reagan had adopted the attitude toward moderates that Wilson has toward conservatives, Wilson would never have been elected senator or governor.

Randy Goodwin
Santa Ana

The derogatory reference to "Moonies" in "The Decade of the Great Republican Death Wish" has soured me on the validity of your views. I am not interested in bigotry. Has Mr. Horowitz poisoned your mind? He has expressed similar views. Unification Church members abhor the term "Moonies" as blacks do "Nigger."

Robert Spitz
Ontario

Much praise, I'm sure, has come your way from your brilliantly articulated observations in "The Decade of The Great Republican Death Wish." I took liberty in sending copies of the article to business and Republican leaders in Orange County. I did so not to advocate or promote your conclusions, but rather because I so strongly believe that it is wise, especially for those involved in politics, to devote time regularly to assessing the objectives they are pursuing and the methods they are employing to reach those objectives — particularly when things are not going as well as expected. Your article proved to be a stimulating tool to assess objectives.

The response I received was not all that surprising. Although I sent the article to a mixed selection of friends (some even Democrats), most recognized your observations as major problems facing the Republican Party. Had they been recognized by those in Washington over the past four years, we might now have a president named Bush rather than Clinton.

I only hope those in politics, especially GOP leaders, take this article to heart and equate their possible lack of popularity with the conclusions you have drawn. It is hard to knock on doors and sell candidates you don't believe in — especially when their records hint that they don't believe in you, your pocketbook, or your principles. I believe all Republicans want to win elections and want dearly to believe in and support generously our Republican elected officials and candidates. When these officials realize that the Republican "heart and soul" is not for sale, disaffected Republicans will again become passionate and enthusiastic and will work their hearts out in 1994. Let's hope so.

Alan M. Peterson, Jr.
Newport Beach

John Kurzweil's "Decade of The Great Republican Death Wish" raises a crucial issue. His central point is that Republicans who act like Democrats stain the GOP's reputation and cause voters (properly) to discern that there is effectively no difference between the two parties. Kurzweil further defines the difference between Reagan Republicans and those of the (usually) more moderate variety as between people who, on one hand, don't care who gets the credit and on the other, those for whom credit is all that matters.

I see this difference in a slightly different way. Most of those attracted to public service mean well, like government, and think it can be an engine for good. We know these people as moderates and liberals. Conservatives distrust government and think it should be restrained. As a result, they're less motivated to serve in government than those who see government as the solution to life's problems. This puts conservatives at a disadvantage insofar as

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the number of qualified conservatives seeking office will always be less than the number of credentialed liberals. Fortunately, the electorate is basically conservative which tends to equalize the equation.

The war for the GOP's soul will continue as long as there is a GOP. Conservatives will get elected on principle, then eventually tire of governing or be out-jockeyed by moderates who love government and the Machiavellian machinations of party politics, and finally, the moderates will be thrown out of office for acting too much like Democrats — thus goes the cycle, *ad infinitum*. (The last phase will almost always happen because the moderates, not having a philosophy, take matters very personally. Their fights are within the Party, whereas conservatives, being idealistic, usually see liberals as the enemy and the Party moderates as natural allies — albeit ones that often turncoat.)

A footnote — this phenomena is happening in the Clinton Administration as the Democrat moderates are aced out of key positions. The trend won't be too pronounced, though, as Democrat moderates still love government — just not as much or as seriously as their liberal opponents within the Democrat party.

Chuck Devore
Irvine

"The Decade of The Great Republican Death Wish" focuses on the continuing struggle between those Republicans who would restrain and limit government as opposed to those who would seek to use the police power of the state to "govern" effectively. George Bush believed there was a difference between campaigning and government. Ronald Reagan successfully merged the message with the governing.

Our own Pete Wilson schizophrenically tried both approaches. Early in his administration he attempted to follow in the footsteps of Kay Orr, ex-governor of Nebraska, and Ray Martinez, ex-governor of Florida. Soon after they were elected these moderate Republicans proposed significant tax increases and did not survive after their first terms in office. Ironically, even with the outrage over Bush's broken tax promises, our governor brought about controversial tax increases here. It now appears the governor has learned from Orr, Martinez, and Bush. But is it too late?

Wilson's re-electability notwithstanding, it is clear that Republicans can only survive and grow if they state their values concisely and clearly. Those values must be based on unrestrained economic growth, limiting government interference in our lives, and freedom from the criminal underclass. Republicans who attempt only to tinker with government, placating the non-productive, can only discredit the pro-freedom Republican message.

Shawn Steel
Los Angeles

Mr. Kurzweil responds:

My thanks for the supportive words and thoughtful comments from Messrs. Goodwin, Peterson, Devore, and Steel. Regarding Robert Spitz's complaint, my dictionary defines "bigoted" as "obstinately and blindly attached to some creed, opinion, or practice, unreasonably devoted to a system or party, and illiberal, often intolerant, toward others' opinions." Mr. Spitz turns this meaning on its head, charging bigotry to justify his own intolerance, henceforth, of my "views," which no longer "interest" him. If what I write is

(Please turn to page 7)

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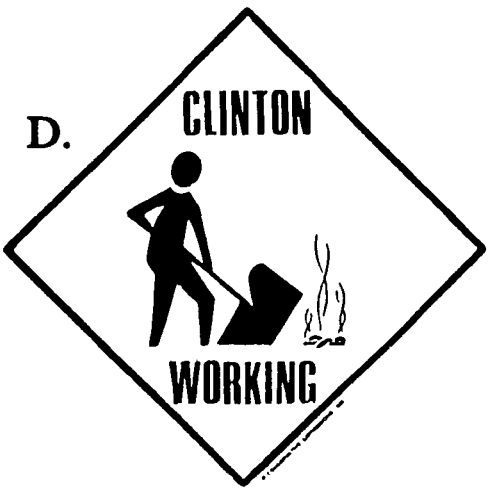

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California Chronicles

Anne McFadden

California Chronicles welcomes information about conservative groups, publications, and activities — also news of liberal fraud, fatuousness, and foibles (especially appreciated). Contact: Anne McFadden, 712 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 44, Santa Monica, CA 90401

ShE LIST

Politically Incorrect Women

Six months ago, **Susan Carpenter-McMillian** (the KABC-TV commentator who took over for **Bruce Herschensohn** when he ran for Senate last year), with four other women, started **ShE LIST** ("Shaping Elections: Life Issues Support Team"). ShE LIST is primarily a fund raising organization designed to help women candidates who hold pro-family views. The group is a conservative answer to such fund raising operations as "EMILY's List," a politically correct effort to insure that each successive "Year of The Woman" features only *liberal* women candidates. ShE LIST is now preparing for the 1994 elections. Contact: ShE LIST, P.O. Box 1028, Pasadena, CA 91102-1028, 818/568-9818.

In addition, Carpenter-McMillian funds the Pro-Family Media Coalition which provides knowledgeable and attractive conservative speakers for the media. Contact: Pro-Family Media Coalition, P.O. Box 1028, Pasadena, CA 91102-1028, 818/449-4834.

ExCEL

Restoring Our Schools

ExCEL (Excellence through Choice In Education League) and Parents for Educational Choice have merged forces in support of the parental choice in education initiative on the June 1994 ballot. The initiative's name says it all. Its goal is to reform California's dismal school system by restoring parents — education's "consumers" in good free-market parlance — to the central role in determining how schools are run. Those that fail to satisfy their customers would go the way all such useless enterprises should go — out of business. For a copy of the initiative or more information contact: ExCEL, 2250 E. Imperial Highway, #220, El Segundo, CA 90245, 310/416-9601.

American Anti-Persecution League

Legal Assistance for Prolife Protesters

William Dannemeyer has organized the American Anti-Persecution League to provide legal assistance for prolife protesters treated unfairly by the judicial system. AAPL attorneys recently filed suit in San Bernardino for a group of prolife women demonstrators subjected to brutal treatment while in custody. Dannemeyer's effort brings some balance to an issue too often dominated by selective hysteria over violence against abortionists, cynical legal moves to restrict the lawful rights of prolife protesters, and decidedly *un*benign neglect of violence perpetrated against them. Contact: American Anti-Persecution League, 504 S. Beach Blvd., Suite 426, Anaheim, CA 92804.

Conferences: C.R.A., Eagle Forum

Grass Roots Action

Oliver North, Ed Rollins, Cal Thomas, and William Dannemeyer addressed the April 2-4 **California Republican Assembly** annual convention in San Diego. Speakers and workshops stressed grass roots action to counter the Democrats, to spread the word about conservative principles to voters, and to drum up support for conservative candidates.

Illegal immigration was a top concern among conventioneers. GOP Assemblyman **Richard Mountjoy** (Arcadia), in a panel discussion on the economic impact of illegals in California, spotlighted illegal aliens' abuse of the state's bloated welfare system. Bills proposed in Sacramento to reduce the

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billions spent on incarceration, education, and social services for illegal aliens in California include: AB 86 (**Mickey Conroy**, R-Orange), to deport illegal aliens convicted of a felony or misdemeanor; AB 149 (Mountjoy), to prohibit spending state funds to educate illegals; and AB 150 (Mountjoy) to prohibit return of state Medi-Cal funds to health providers until providers report illegal immigrants to the INS.

For membership information contact the California Republican Assembly's Donna Schmidt, 2149 Roaring Camp Drive, Gold River, CA 95670, 916/631-9475.

Eagle Forum's California chapter held its Leadership Conference April 23-24 in Irvine with **Tom McClintock, Bruce Herschensohn, Dana Rohrabacher, Michael Medved**, and ExCEL's **Joseph Alibrandi** (head of Whittaker Corp.) among the speakers. Social issues — the culture war, AIDS, Educational Choice — and a general consideration of the past and future of conservatism dominated the agenda. Chapter President Dr. **Jo Ellen Allen**, is a co-founder of ShE LIST *(see above)*. For more information and copies of the speaker tapes contact: Eagle Forum of California, P.O. Box 8212, Newport Beach, CA 92658-8212, 714/952-9071.

In Brief...

Beverly LaHaye's Concerned Women for America (CWA) has opened a Riverside chapter. Membership is *not* restricted to women. Contact: Gloria Waite, P.O. Box 8094, Riverside, CA 92515, 909/369-9876 .... The furious health care crescendo in Washington moved **Pacific Research Institute** and ***Reason*** magazine to examine America's largest *current* government health care program — Medicare — in *Reason's* January cover story, "The Medicare Monster: A Cautionary Tale," by PRI Research Director **Steven Hayward** and Policy Intern **Erik Peterson**. "Medicare was government's first huge step in the perversion of the health care marketplace," they write. "All of the assumptions behind the Medicare program were wildly inaccurate and unrealistic. The eventual cost of the program was underestimated by a factor of 10. Cost containment has proven impossible. Continuing exploding costs guarantee huge tax increases in the future" — a formula for bureaucrat bliss, of course, and the Clinton Health Plan promises to outdo even this disaster. Contact: Pamela A. Riley, Pacific Research Institute, 177 Post Street, San Francisco, CA 94108, 415/989-0833 .... Sacramento's **Criminal Justice Legal Foundation** has published a "Guide to Regulating Panhandling," offering model laws for cities plagued by aggressive panhandlers — a thoughtful gift for a municipality in your area. Contact: CJLF, P.O. Box 1199, Sacramento, CA 95812 .... Laguna Beach conservatives have formed **United Laguna** to defend property rights, monitor fiscal and safety issues, and oppose left-wing ideas dreamed up by the City Council and Planning Commission — such as building, at taxpayer expense, a monument to those who have died from AIDS in the community (just the thing to bolster a wholesome image among tourists). Contact: United Laguna, Michelle Oliver, executive director, P.O. Box 9472, Laguna Beach, CA 92652, 714/494-9692 .... ***California Review,*** founded in 1982 and written and funded entirely by students at UC San Diego, is an interesting, well written college paper. The *Review* has interviewed **William Bennett, Charles Sykes**, and **R. Emmett Tyrrell**, and published articles on multicultural absurdities (many), selective victimhood (rampant), and "whining about my generation" (ubiquitous). Subscriptions: $15. Contact: *California Review,* P.O. Box 12286, La Jolla, CA 92037 .... **Young America's Foundation**'s National Conservative Student Conference will be July 25-31 in Washington, D.C. Students will meet conservative leaders *plus* other right minded students. Contact: Young America's Foundation, F.M. Kirby Freedom Center, 110 Elden Street, Herndon, VA 22070, 800/292-9231. CPR

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

wrong, why not present evidence to refute it? And why not wait to hear my answer before labeling me "obstinately and blindly attached" to my position? Perhaps bigotry is more easily condemned than avoided, but I wish Mr. Spitz had taken this opportunity to enlighten us and to give me a chance to show whether I'm bigoted or not.

Regarding Mr. Devore's characterization of my position, I did not draw so simple-minded a distinction as he suggests: between politicians, on one hand, who are oblivious about receiving credit and those, on the other, who think of nothing but receiving it. Rather, the distinction is between those who do, and those who do not, realize that success, for Republicans, requires a willingness to sacrifice one's personal interests when they conflict with those of the Party and the people.

Open Debate Under Dr. Tirso's Big Tent

(Editor's note: In the following letter, Republican Party of California Executive Director Robert E. Carpenter refers to a business arrangement between California Political Review and the state GOP that has existed since CPR was founded in 1990. Under the arrangement, we used various Party business machines (mainly the postage meter) and reimbursed the Party for the cost of doing so. The arrangement was convenient for CPR and cost the Party nothing.)

Thank you for providing me *California Political Review's* Winter 1993 issue. I found it interesting and informative.

However, your attacks and the attacks of other writers on Republicans, including Governor Pete Wilson and California Republican Party Chairman Tirso del Junco were not well taken. I am a strict adherent to the 11th Commandment, and intend to operate the staff of the California Republican Party in that manner. If a member of my staff wishes to attack a fellow Republican for being too conservative, too liberal, or somewhere in the middle, they will not be a member of my staff for long.

In addition, I find it interesting that Christopher Shelton takes shots at Governor Wilson and Chairman del Junco, under the guise of a pseudonym. Come on, if the

(Please turn to page 9)

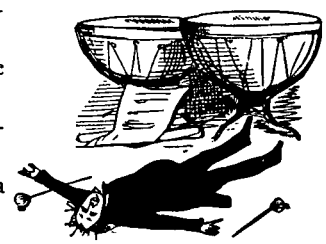
Notebook

A New Level Of Art

FORMER CONGRESSMAN and defeated Senate candidate **Tom Campbell** told the *Sacramento Bee* he thinks the **George Bush** White House, fearful of Campbell's "new Republicanism," plotted to wreck his campaign last year by recruiting Palm Springs Mayor **Sonny Bono** to enter the race and split the pro-abortion vote. *Orange County Register* Editorial Writer **Harold Johnson** quipped that Campbell's "conspiracy script ... raises political paranoia to a new level of art." It does seem to stretch credulity to imagine the Bushite Establishmentarian-types scanning the political countryside for a Campbell challenger and, of all possible candidates, settling on — Sonny Bono .... Bono says his candidacy was strictly his own idea and calls Campbell's theory, "the whining of somebody who should move on with his life — and who should start attacking Democrats and stop attacking other Republicans" .... Campbell's Republican Majority Coalition ("Our purpose," he said, "is to exclude issues of morality and conscience as litmus tests"), moved Ethics and Public Policy Center's **George Weigel** to ask: "Exclude issues of morality and conscience? Will white supremacist David Duke be welcome in the Republican Majority Coalition? How about Dr. Jack Kevorkian ... ? Why not go all the way and invite Lyndon LaRouche ... ?"

MAHARISHI MAHESH Yogi has offered (for $26 million) to rid San Francisco of its stresses and problems. He'd fly in 1,000 followers to meditate daily and send out good vibrations, promising universal harmony within five years. The city rejected the offer .... Liberal media "watchdog" group, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, in an effort to blunt conservative criticism of National Public Radio's left-wing bias, has labeled NPR politically incorrect: "too white, too male, and too cozy with Washington D.C. insiders." Look for NPR to issue the standard response (See? Both sides attack us. That proves we're even-handed) .... In an unusually sensible decision, California's Supreme Court let stand an $8,600 penalty imposed on **Andre Exler** by state Appellate Justice **Manuel Ramirez** for filing a frivolous lawsuit that "any competent attorney would consider totally and completely devoid of legal merit." Riverside-resident Exler, whose 1984 suit forced Disneyland to allow him to dance in the park with his boy friend, sued Sizzler Restaurant over its "seniors" discount claiming age discrimination (he's 31). The suit was dismissed and Exler ordered to pay legal costs. Undeterred, he plans U.S. Supreme Court appeal and has other lawsuits in the works.

AFTER A 7-hour stand off, Cal Berkeley university police tear-gassed and arrested 48 students occupying the administration building. Fearing budget cuts, the students demanded that the Ethnic Studies Department become a separate "Third World College" with more funding and student control over hiring and curriculum. What do they think Berkeley is now? .... Also on the "higher education" front, *Heterodoxy* magazine quotes *Stanford Review* Editor **David Sacks**: "The Stanford Administration demands that its students be 'welcoming and accepting' of homosexual behavior. In bathrooms throughout the campus ... holes have been drilled between the walls of toilet stalls to facilitate anonymous bathroom sex. One restroom in the South Stacks of Green Library is a 'horror story' according to a library employee, who described the bathroom's unusual stench and the homosexual graffiti covering the walls .... Unaware of its reputation, [a student entered the South Stacks] for legitimate purposes. While he used the urinal, another student leered at him disturbingly and then walked towards him menacingly — while masturbating. Shocked and offended he fled before this obviously unbalanced homosexual could physically accost him. Unfortunately, such stories abound." No wonder Western Civ had to go. CPR



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Sacramento Spectator

Are you listening, Tom Campbell?

A COLD SHOWER dose of reality was administered to the Democrats on April 27 by voters in two state senate districts. Special elections were held that day in a Bakersfield-centered district (the 16th) and one on California's Humboldt and Mendocino north coast (the 2nd).

In the Bakersfield district, Republican Phil Wyman defeated veteran Democrat Assemblyman Jim Costa, even though Costa outspent Wyman by about four-to-one. This contest was notable for Costa's hysterical last minute attacks on Wyman as it became apparent that the Republican could win this marginally Democrat district (registration is 45 percent Democrat to 42 percent Republican). The voters were more impressed with Wyman's anti-tax, pro-family credentials than with Costa's boasts that he could "get things done." What the voters wanted "done," obviously, was to have a state senator who would say *no* to more taxes. Lessons, anyone? Are you listening, Dick Darman and Tom Campbell?

The razor thin loss of Republican Margie Handley to Democrat Senator Mike Thompson (final results were not yet in at press time, but it appeared Handley would lose by less than 300 votes out of 100,000 cast) was even more of a shocker to the Democrats in town. California's 2nd Senate District on the north coast is *solidly* Democrat. George Bush received 27 percent of the vote last November in these precincts. Boxer and Feinstein ran up exceptionally impressive margins and GOP registration is in the low 30s.

BUT THE feisty Handley fought it out to a draw, hammering Thompson on the carpetbagger theme (he was "hopping" districts, having been elected to the senate from a neighboring but less Democrat district two years ago.) And as in the Costa-Wyman race, the Democrat had an enormous spending advantage. Most analysts, including Democrats (given the protection of anonymity), attribute the near GOP victory to the first stirrings on an anti-Clinton backlash.

The spawning of an anti-Clinton mood, *per se,* would not strike fear into Democrat hearts. After all, they still command comfortable majorities in both legislative houses. The fear is due to the appearance of an anti-Clinton tide this early in a district as heavily Democrat as the second. Extrapolated statewide, the results point to a 1994 that could pose severe problems to Democrat candidates. The Dems think they have a "circuit breaker," though, to any anti-Democrat current next year: the unpopularity of Governor Pete Wilson.

Wilson's popularity numbers *are* still abysmally low — much lower than Clinton's. But November of '94 is a long way off, and all Wilson has to do to take advantage of a national political tide is to extricate himself from the disastrous range in his approval/disapproval ratings, moving up to even only mildly optimistic levels. That is well within the realm of possibility by next year. The Democrats know that, and the first signs of genuine concern are showing. How delicious to see the other side worried about a national drag on their ticket for a change!

THE OTHER item that has dominated talk inside the beltway of your capital is the indictments of Republican Assemblyman Pat Nolan and Senator Frank Hill in the continuing Capitol corruption investigation.

Let your *Spectator* be blunt.

The indictments of Nolan and Hill are the result of a political witch hunt. The outgoing U.S. attorney and the FBI agents involved were desperate for a Republican scalp — *any* Republican scalp. This indictment was brought *five days* before the U.S. attorney left office. That they required nearly *five years* from the beginning of the investigation to blackjack the grand jury into an indictment indicates just how tenuous their case is. Your *Spectator* has very, *very* reliable reports of FBI agents using the basest kinds of threats and bullying tactics on potential witnesses who would not "go along" with the FBI's grand conspiracy theory.

One witness in particular had the unfortunate experience of telling the truth to the grand jury when he testified in 1991. This testimony did not serve the government's case against Hill or Nolan (it was considered "unhelpful" by the U.S. attorney and the FBI), and in fact brought proceedings to a halt for some time. Shortly after this witness gave his testimony, his business was investigated by the state government agency that allows it to operate. And shortly after that, he received an extensive audit notice from the Internal Revenue Service. Nobody connected with this case believes these were coincidences. In fact, the state agency is *still* trying to put this "unhelpful" witness out of business, and the IRS has yet to conclude its "routine" audit.

This is scary stuff. Given the occurrences in Waco, I suppose this gentleman and other "unhelpful" witnesses should be glad their houses weren't surrounded and torched. The truth is that a politically pressed U.S. attorney and a vengeful FBI have done to the reputations and lives of Pat Nolan and Frank Hill exactly what their "brothers" did to the Davidian compound in Waco. Assuming the Feds don't kick our door down and smash our presses, you'll be reading more about this in future issues. In the meantime, *please* keep in mind that both Nolan and Hill were effective and courageous leaders for the GOP in the Assembly. And when you cut through the B.S., *that* is why they are being dragged through the justice system by a federal police agency and a federal attorney to whom "justice" is clearly a foreign term.

— A.P.C.

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 7)

types of charges leveled have any validity, which they do not, make them in the open, like a man. To make these statements, but not allow the reader to know the source, gives the statements no creditability.

I respect your right to publish your periodical, but will not allow the California Republican Party to be used as a vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Republican remarks. Therefore, any agreement you had with my predecessor regarding use of Party equipment, including copy machines and postal machines, is hereby negated.

Robert E. Carpenter, *executive director*
The Republican Party of California

Christopher Shelton responds:

Mr. Carpenter clearly was not paying attention during logic class when he was in school. His definition of "attacks" includes telling the truth about Pete Wilson's anti-conservative mania or stating the rather bland fact that Tirso del Junco is close to Wilson and will probably do what Wilson wants.

He upbraids me for using a pseudonym — as if there was no need for one — and then proves the need for protective anonymity by attacking John Kurzweil and California Political Review.

And he clearly doesn't understand the concept of different roles and responsibilities in politics. Carpenter, as a GOP flunkie, has it as his job to be nice to all Republicans (except those, apparently, who disagree with him). I, as a writer and political observer, have as my job the truthful reporting of events as I see them. Mr. Kurzweil, as editor, publisher, and chief bottle washer of a political journal, has as his job the publishing of the most interesting product possible.

Banishment from the copy room is a heavy price to pay for telling the truth, but I suspect CPR will continue to publish and flourish, and that eventually Mr. Carpenter will grow up and realize how silly and thin-skinned he made himself and the California GOP look.

John Kurzweil responds:

How do we distinguish our friends, Plutarch asked, from our flatterers? In only one way: when something is going wrong or you are doing something wrong, your friend will tell you. The flatterer will continue singing

(Please turn to page 36)

Commentary

Prevailing Wage Rip-Off

"CALIFORNIANS PAY a bigger share of their income taxes than the residents of most states," reported the *San Francisco Examiner* recently, but still our educational system is always running out of money, our roads are too few, our police departments too small, and the state budget chronically unbalanced — where does the money go? One sink-hole of public funds is the state Department of Industrial Relations' bloated prevailing wage regulations. Taxpayers shell out $26.12 an hour for a flagman on a road job, $26.52 for asphalt shovelers, and $27.77 for asphalt rakers. These compare with private hourly wages between $11 and $12.

Why do taxpayers pay so much more? Because in 1976 Jerry Brown "reformed" the state's method of calculating "prevailing wages" to insure these grossly inflated payments. The Democrat Legislature, of course, refuses to restore genuine prevailing wages. The good news is, since Governor Brown imposed the formula, a Republican governor could dump it. The bad news is Brown left town in 1980 and neither George Deukmejian nor Pete Wilson have moved to relieve this unnecessary taxpayer burden, which would save California an estimated $170 million to $340 million. Why is Wilson waiting?

Paradise Lost?

THE ADVOCATE, the Hollywood-based national homosexual magazine famous for "outing" various individuals, is in danger of closing due to financial problems and, of all things, charges of sexual harassment and discrimination against women. One employee filed suit claiming that his male supervisor made unwelcome advances. When *The Advocate* pointed out that state laws do not specifically mention "same sex harassment," homosexual activists called it *another* form of discrimination against homosexuals. The magazine retreated. A former woman employee is also filing suit claiming that the magazine discriminates against lesbians. Just another revolution devouring its children.

Doctors For Gun Control

WHAT DO the Center for Disease Control, the *New England Journal of Medicine,* and the American Medical Association have to do with gun control? It may sound strange, but all three appear to be actively involved in promoting it, often using taxpayer dollars in this overtly political effort, and, perhaps worst of all, these normally

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The Further Adventures of Scam Falters — *TODAY:* Scam Composes a Column

ROTUND POLITICAL columnist Scam Falters was sitting at his battered, old desk in the large office building across "L" Street from the state Capitol where many members of Sacramento's political press corps ply their trade. As he polished the shiny, inscribed lapel pin that he wears constantly ("Dean of California Political Writers" it modestly proclaims), Scam spoke to the young man sitting across from him in his office.

"If you want to write about politics, Johnny, you must learn the essentials of this noble profession," began Scam. "And the first principle is: don't let 'em pin you down."

"I see — I think ... " said Johnny. "What do you mean, exactly?"

"I don't mean *anything* exactly," shouted Scam bringing his fist down on the desk with a loud bang and overturning a pair of water glasses. "That's the point." He paused a moment. Johnny listened attentively while attempting to mop up the dribbling puddle spreading across the desk. Then, in a calmer tone, Scam continued: "Never be precise or follow a thought beyond the most superficial level — that only stirs up trouble and our readers have enough of that in their lives.

"All they're looking for is a little vague reassurance that the respectable ideas and the standard prejudices are still in full force so they can go back to work or to sleep or whatever they're doing and forget about all this. If you're smart that's what you'll give 'em.

"Take this recent column. I wanted to stroke Tom Campbell's people, so it pushes all their hot buttons, places them comfortably in the political middle — just where they like to see themselves, holding the fort of reason and all that against the 'ideological extremes': the 'Ron Dellums liberals' and 'Rush Limbaugh conservatives.' It says boorish, thick-headed 'right-wingers' are to blame for all the Republicans' woes."

"But what about the Bush and Wilson tax increases?" asked Johnny, "...their breaking faith with the voters? Didn't that have something to do with it?"

"You're letting your mind drift, my boy," answered Scam, as a slightly malevo-

lent gleam began to smolder in his eye. "And you're missing the point completely. This column restores the faith of the Campbell people. They were still weeping and shaken about losing to Herschensohn. I came along and told them: no, no. You've done nothing wrong. It is those fanatics, those crazies, they're to blame — and *that* makes the Campbellites feel all warm and cuddly about me.

"NEXT WEEK, of course, when I'm courting conservatives, I'll write about how Campbell is an officious, vapid, amoral twit with no soul, but his supporters won't mind. They'll prefer to remember the earlier column and chalk up the later criticism to Scam's well-known 'independence' and 'free thinking unpredictability.' Conservatives, reversing the columns, will do the same, and I'll be a hero to both groups."

Johnny, feeling a little embarrassed to be asking so many questions of the Great Man, nonetheless put forward one more. "But won't anybody notice that you're talking out of both sides of your mouth, Scam?" he asked, " — shamelessly doling out pabulum under the guise of disinterested political commentary?"

SCAM GLARED at him, and seemed to be weighing whether to try again or simply to throw out the young dolt bodily.

"Now please," said Scam, his exasperation just barely under control, "try to listen and understand. This isn't 1787. No one is out there reading *The Federalist Papers* and thinking deep thoughts about government and how to keep it from careening out of control and so forth. They take this political stuff as a diverting game, something to get upset about, or gloat over, as the case may be, but never something to take seriously. There's one cardinal rule in this business, and you'd better learn it now: you'll never get anywhere asking people to think."

As Johnny left, he felt sure he'd been saved from making a fatal mistake that could have misdirected and ruined his whole journalistic career. He thanked Scam heartily and went forth with an inward glow of gratitude that the Dean of California Political Writers had taken time to set him straight. CPR

respected "scientific" entities appear to be knowingly lying about research to make their case.

An extensive list of fallacies regularly promoted by these doctors' groups and public health agencies is listed and refuted in an interesting pamphlet available from Gun Owners of California (located in Sacramento) called "GUNS: Facts & Fallacies." It was originally put together by a California-based group called Doctors for Integrity in Research & Public Policy (in San Ramon). For instance, the pamphlet dissects a 1992 article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* by Dr. Colin Loftin purporting to prove that Washington D.C.'s 1976 ban on new gun sales decreased the city's murder rate. "Loftin and his co-authors," the pamphlet reads, "funded by *your* tax money from the anti-gun Center for Disease Control, produced a piece of 'research' with several major flaws."

These included such seemingly egregious errors as:

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using raw numbers rather than population-corrected murder rates, which thus failed to correct for a 20 percent decrease in D.C. population during the study period, and treating justifiable and excusable homicides, including those by police officers, as if they were murders in compiling the study. Nice research, eh?

The pamphlet also discusses fallacies about semi-automatic guns (so-called "assault weapons," a masterful bit of falsehood in labeling). "The California Attorney General's Office," says the pamphlet — referring, it should be noted up front, to that of John Van de Kamp, not of Dan Lungren — "conducted two statewide studies of the use of 'assault weapons' in crime. Both the 1988 Helsley and the 1990 Johnson studies showed that such guns were almost never used in crime, even in the major centers of drug crime" for the common sense reason that "criminals prefer concealable weapons, not big rifles and shotguns."

So what did Van de Kamp do with these inconvenient findings? His office "denied the existence of the studies" until they were leaked to the press. Well, if doctors can lie about research, should we be surprised to find politicians doing the same?

Tirso del Junco Sings Flat

DR. TIRSO del Junco, the state GOP's new chairman began his two-year term with a few sour notes at the state convention that elected him in February. His initial news conference consisted mainly of repeated statements that he did not want a state Party fixated on social issues. He talked about his personal opposition to abortion, pledging not to let it interfere with his running of the Party. He went to great lengths to decry the "divisiveness" these issues had caused and to remind everyone of how determined he was to avoid dwelling on them. By the time he'd finished, there was nothing much for reporters to write about except the Party's divisions over social issues, since the good doctor had mentioned little else. Lesson: if you want to emphasize, say, economic issues, talk about *them*, not about those things you say you plan to ignore.

But better than that would be a short course with former Senator and RNC Chairman William E. Brock who presided, as national chairman, over the resurgence of the national GOP between the dark days of defeat to Jimmy Carter in 1976 and Ronald Reagan's smashing victory four years later. When Brock took over in 1977, he found the party "largely bereft," he wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* late last year, "of those tools essential to any successful party, a strong grounding in principles and ideas, and a broad and diverse base of support." Parties build broad and diverse bases of support by standing up for their *principles* in just this way, not by listing — for the media, no less! — all the issues party leaders wish would go away.

Brock concluded by quoting Teddy Roosevelt: "The one indispensable requisite of both an individual and a nation is character." "This is no less true," Brock commented, "of a political party." Amen to that. CPR

The Working Press

So Damn Politically Correct

But Beyond the Victimology One Occasionally Still Finds Some News

Tim W. Ferguson

DAY AFTER day, the *Los Angeles Times* is so damn politically correct that it's become a bad self-parody. Victimology is everywhere, except when it comes to casualties of street crime, which is generally downplayed. Blacks, Latinos, aggrieved Asians and women are always fighting for social justice, especially in the "View" (lifestyle) section. The entertainment department long ago dispensed with evenhandedness in the cultural wars. Sometimes the worst thing about the *Times'* liberalism is that it's just so tired. The Sunday "Calendar" magazine devoted its April 11 cover to "Theater Fights Back:

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How new defiant voices are battling AIDS from the stages of America." Anyone attending contemporary urban productions over the last decade could not have avoided being bombarded with every homosexual plaint in Christendom. Where's the news? ....

WHILE THE *Times* is predictable, the much-maligned *San Francisco Chronicle* rarely fails to come up with at least one story daily that is worth clipping. Washington correspondent Carolyn Lochhead and economics writer Jonathan Marshall are particular founts for reference. Lochhead was early in deflating the notion that Bill Clinton enjoyed overwhelming support in Silicon Valley for his tax-and-spend plan. Marshall, much like Robert Samuelson in *Newsweek,* cites statistics that puncture myth and quotes resource economists that challenge political orthodoxy. The *Chronicle* also had good trend stories on the increasing use of arrests in "domestic abuse" cases (it didn't, however, note the effect on jail crowding) and the intimidation of Asians in the city's public-housing projects, apparently by blacks. The *Chronicle* also did some skeptical reporting on the value of Bay Area military bases subject to closure ....

That detachment contrasted with the civic reveille sounded on the base-closing issue by the *Orange County Register,* whose news department all but implored local congressmen to be feistier in heading off a shutdown of the suddenly beloved El Toro Marine air base. This was the latest example of how the *Register* newsroom, perhaps trying to atone for the libertarian-conservative slant imposed on it in years past, has become a megaphone for the local government establishment, except on petty corruption stories ....

The *Register* also devoted space to a logo'd series of articles on Black History Month, an annual nationwide commemoration that itself was an early manifestation of P.C. sentiment. Why this event was of particular noteworthiness in Orange County, where Latinos and Asians far outnumber blacks, can probably be better explained by a desire to re-educate the benighted suburbanites than by traditional news judgment ....

THE *SACRAMENTO BEE,* as the *Washington Post* of the state capital, reports more of the ins-and-outs of government there than any other medium (although often from the perspective of the Democrat legislative staff, same as in D.C.). But regularly some state political story has a hook outside the Capitol dome and somebody else bites. This was true when the *Chronicle* found that public opposition was blocking the establishment of marine preserves mandated by the Gill Net Initiative of 1990. Seems the fishermen, divers, and surfers who supported that apple-pie measure didn't contemplate the possibility that some of their favorite stretches of coastline would be put off-limits to all but scientists, and are now fighting four such designations ....

Regionalism has its prerogatives, and one of them is the cause of progressive Republicanism on the San Francisco peninsula. Former Representative Tom Campbell remains a god to folks like *Chronicle* columnist Jerry Roberts, whose sources in Hewlett-Packardville still cannot fathom why he lost the Senate primary to Bruce Herschensohn. Campbell is, of course, engaged in a national drive to rid the Party of its social-issue stigma. In this quest, he draws state press grief only from the old Herschensohn partisans at the *Orange County Register's* editorial page. A more complete free ride continues to be enjoyed by Kathleen Brown, the unspecific state treasurer who says she wants to restore direction to, and belief in, California. But where will you get the tax money, Kathleen? Finally, we've read little anywhere about Barbara Boxer, which is a relief ....

FEW PRESS accounts have grappled with the explosion in welfare claims, which along with the imprisonment binge is what's destroying Pete Wilson's budgets. The *Los Angeles Times* flashed the news that Medi-Cal spending had risen an extraordinary 36 percent last year, then dropped the ball. The *San Bernardino Sun* drew a bead on the fact that one third of the city was on the dole, and probably half if you counted jobless and workers comp benefits. A collective failure to detail the handout crisis, probably because of its unpleasant political connotations, doubtless played a role in the defeat of Proposition 165 last November and the state's continuing fiscal helplessness ....

The school-voucher initiative will be the most ideologically loaded issue on the June 1994 ballot, and it will be interesting (and surely discouraging) to see how the press handles the teacher-union propaganda. There were signs that United Teachers-Los Angeles wore out their welcome a bit in fighting for salaries at the expense of everything else, including kids' books; the *L.A. Daily News* has been notably tough on the union. But in general the instructors' sad refrain gets a respectful hearing. The horrors of low pay, big classes, and slothful admin-

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istrators were put in perspective, however, by a *Chronicle* photo showing applicants waiting in line at a teacher job fair in San Jose. The queues are even longer whenever municipalities test for police and fire openings. What gives? ....

Finally, so as to give the *L.A. Times* its due, let us note a few highlights: A front-pager by (now departed) Tracy Wood on how contractors benefitting from minority set-asides were raking it in from the riot cleanup; a Glenn Bunting dispatch from Washington on how Senate crustacean Robert Byrd had "dissed" Dianne Feinstein on his Appropriations Committee because she spoke kindly of a line-item veto; a rare bit of mass-transit revisionism by Nora Zamichow that noted how rail planners across the U.S. play high-ball/low-ball with ridership estimates to keep the green coal coming; and a needed takedown of the vile message of the Michael Douglas movie "Falling Down" — in, of all places, "Calendar"!

Educational Finance

What Price Zero Tuition?

Those who *get* something that is costly should *pay* for it.

William R. Allen

"ZERO TUITION in state schools is a *right*. The people of California owe students free education in the University of California." Such words, penned by young scholars, can be found regularly in the pages of the UCLA *Daily Bruin*. Their authors are reasoning, perhaps, from the premise that the best things in life are free. But if those best things really *are* free, then higher education qualifies as only a second-best commodity, for free it is not. Who should pay for college?

In state schools, students are charged only a modest fraction of the costs. But in California, that fraction has been growing. Fees in the University of California have much more than doubled in the last half dozen years. They may be raised next year to more than $4,000 for state residents (and about three times that much for out-of-state customers). This, predictably, has distressed young scholars, moving some to metaphysical pronouncements that virtually zero-priced education is a right bestowed by a college-loving deity. Also, there is a parasitic tradition against tuition at state colleges: *one* tradition even campus rebels defend, for their own pocketbooks are at stake. But the tradition violates a sound principle: those who *get* something that is costly should *pay* for it.

Zero tuition is a public subsidy. The considerable resources involved have many alternative uses. In a world of scarcity, we cannot provide everything to everyone below cost. It is naive to presume that *particular* members of this *particular* social group should be subsidized and should receive this *particular* amount of this *particular* gift.

Even if naive, taxpayers have been generous to public colleges. And communities have received at least a gross, whether or not a net, payoff from their investments which have given us a general population that includes many more college graduates, presumably, than it would if the investments had not been made. But students are *twice*-blessed. They benefit in this general way over the years as members of the community. But in addition, as students, they receive training costing many times what they pay in fees and ultimately returning to them an income many times greater than the educational cost. As members of society, they will pay taxes, of course — but all members pay taxes, whether or not they go to state colleges and thus receive the additional benefits that go specifically to students.

THE BULK of the students come from relatively high social-economic levels. The poor provide a share of tax payments which is larger than their proportion of college students, on balance subsiding the wealthy to go

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to UCLA. Even students with little money income are wealthy — if they belong in college. For college-caliber persons are rich in inherited capacity and developed commitment. Such "human capital" is wealth, and we must distinguish between wealth and current earnings. The student's income may be small, but his wealth — the present value of his future earnings — is large.

The case for subsidization of a select few in the form of zero tuition is not made persuasive simply by reference to educational investment finally being beneficial to us all. Today's students will be fully compensated later by the community when they supply the market with their services of educationally enhanced value.

PUTTING ASIDE the role of parasites need *not* involve curtailment of college consumption *now* by students, but only reduction of other consumption out of *tomorrow's* augmented income. Students can draw now on some of tomorrow's income though borrowing and pay their own way. Borrowing replaces subsidization of students with investment by students in their own behalf. Those who get, pay.

The Private Sector

What Disagreement?

The Unsuspected Common Ground of Social Conservatives, Neo-Cons, and Libertarians

Joseph Farah

IF YOU are a "fiscal conservative" still skittish about working in coalitions with the so-called "religious right," listen to what the leading neo-conservative and libertarian philosophers are saying. In a recent column in the *Wall Street Journal,* neo-con scholar Irving Kristol fully embraced social conservatism and pronounced this much-maligned movement as the inevitable victor in the Culture War that is defining the 1990s.

"It is the religious who have a sense that the tide has turned and that the wave of the future is moving in their direction," Kristol wrote. "If the Republican Party is to survive, it must work at accommodating these people."

Within just a few days, Murray Rothbard, the libertarian intellectual, agreed in a syndicated column that, notwithstanding the election of Bill Clinton, religious conservatives appear to be on the winning side of history.

"Most libertarians think of Christian conservatives in the same lurid terms as the leftist media, if not more so," Rothbard noted. "Nothing could be further from the truth: Christian conservatives are trying to fight back against a left-liberal elite." He urged a strong new alliance with them.

Earlier this year, the Christian Coalition of California convened in Anaheim to plan a state political strategy for the '90s. Sara Hardman, president of the group, emphasized over and over again how important it is for social conservatives to work with those motivated more by economics and geo-strategic concerns than family and cultural issues.

"We're trying to demonstrate to the fiscal conservatives that there is a high cost involved with the disintegration of morality and family structure," she said. "And for those more concerned with America's place in the world community, it is important to understand that our country will not remain free and strong if the value system that holds us together is eroded. We want and we need to work with both of these constituencies."

SO IF neo-conservatives, libertarians, and social conservatives are all in fundamental agreement, who's ripping apart the seams of the Republican Party? If Kristol, Rothbard and, say, Pat Robertson, are all in accord on the major issues of the day, then who is it that is in danger of being excluded? The answer to both questions is easy — liberals.

When Republicans gnash their teeth and wring their

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hands in despair over whether they should clearly define and state what their party believes or fudge a little in hopes of creating a "big tent," they're not fighting with each other. They're fighting ghosts. There is simply no real force behind the so-called "Republican Majority Coalition" — either in terms of membership rolls or intellectual foundation. It is, more than anything else, a creation of the liberal, establishment media — a device to create controversy and discord where none really exists. But myths die hard. And illusions can be powerful. They can even shape reality. And that is what has happened in California.

QUITE SIMPLY, when Republicans try to be all things to all people, they lose. Governor Pete Wilson is a case in point. He helped define what was, just two years ago, being heralded as the "New Conservatism." No one seems to be championing that term anymore. Why not? Because it was a sham from the beginning. There was nothing "new" or "conservative" about it. It was simply warmed over "old liberalism."

What has Wilson's bold new leadership done for the Republican Party and the state of California? Damn near destroyed both.

Many Republican activists held their noses in 1990 and worked for Wilson's election as governor because his victory represented an opportunity to reapportion more fairly the state's congressional districts. Today, few believe it was worth it. Democrats picked up five more House seats last year and are now poised to win the governor's mansion.

The polls show Wilson to be the most unpopular governor in modern times, so even when he has an occasional good idea — like last year's welfare reform initiative — it goes down in flames because of identification with him. With Wilson at the helm, the 1992 election was the first time Republicans failed to capture any statewide offices since 1948. Whenever Republicans abandon the principles of their Party, the voters abandon them.

The Republican Majority Coalition's Tom Campbell spends nearly all of his time criticizing conservatives and fellow Republicans to the exclusion of liberals and Democrats. What does that tell us about Campbell's goals and motivations? How do you form a "big tent" party by attacking anyone and everyone you disagree with in that party? Is Campbell serious when he says, "Our purpose is to exclude issues of morality and conscience as litmus tests"? Could this really be the standard for the Party of Abraham Lincoln? Would any of us really want a government devoid of morality and conscience? Has Campbell and his handful of political followers forgotten how and why this nation was founded and the principles on which it was formed? This is what I mean when I say that this "movement" — if you can call it that — not only lacks members, it lacks any intellectual foundation.

Real conservatism does not lack either. Whether it's the brand advocated by Kristol or Rothbard or Robertson, all true conservatism is based on certain core beliefs: limited government, free enterprise, Judeo-Christian values. Sure, Rothbard might nitpick over whether term limits are the right way to go. Kristol might favor more interventionism than others. Robertson might make the others uncomfortable in the way he stresses the right to life.

But these views are hardly diametrically opposed to one another. There is no fundamental philosophical opposition. It is only when the liberal ideas of Campbell and Wilson and their allies in the media are introduced that the big tent starts to stretch beyond its limit.

What does it take to hold it together? Ronald Reagan did it. He captured nearly 60 percent of the popular vote nationwide in two presidential elections. He certainly didn't do it by watering down his conservative message. He did it by presenting it with warmth and with images the entire electorate could understand.

That coalition fairly held together for one more presidential election even when the messenger was gone. That's how strong the momentum was. But in 1992 the coalition broke down altogether when Ross Perot walked away with about 20 percent of what had been the "Reagan vote." Liberalism, represented by Bill Clinton, did no better than it had done in recent previous elections. (Clinton actually received fewer popular votes and a smaller percentage than Michael Dukakis did in 1988.)

WHAT DIVIDES the conservative movement into three camps is more a matter of emphasis than disagreement. With the right leadership (*à la* Ronald Reagan), the Tom Campbells of the world will either fall into line or find a new party to disrupt. Either way, they are basically irrelevant.

So why is everyone wasting so much time trying to understand them and accommodate them? The elections of 1980, 1988 and 1992 proved undeniably that the conservative coalition is large enough to win any election. It only breaks down when the conservative vision is betrayed. CPR

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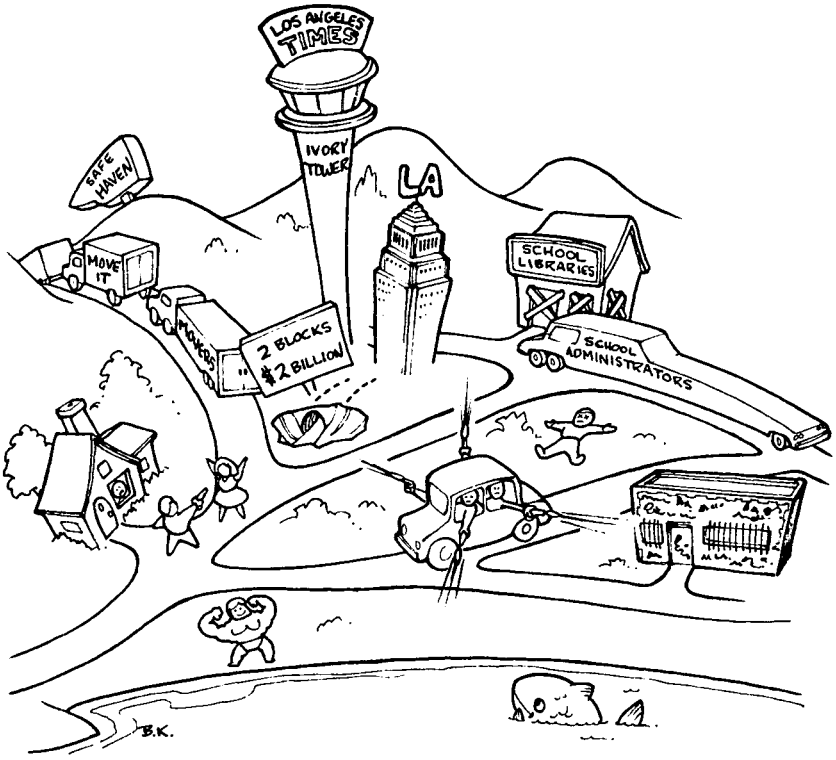
Riordan, Woo, and the City of Angels

Crime approaching perpetual-riot levels, a tax-base fleeing, fiscal insolvency, schools in disarray, and a social fabric shredding — nothing here, thought L.A.'s liberal establishment, to disrupt an orderly transition in the mayor's office from one of its bland functionaries to another. On April 20, however, the voters scrapped the script.

by Paul Ciotti

ONE GOOD thing about the next election — whoever wins, it won't be Tom Bradley. He's never said a single interesting or surprising thing in 20 years as mayor. He just stood up there in his perfectly pressed suit coats (he must put them on without taking the hangers out) with his flat ex-cop eyes and great Easter Island stone face presiding over the greatest decline of a world class city since the vandals sacked Rome. Not that this in any way had ever bothered the West Side liberals and *Los Angeles Times* editors who are his main supporters. On the contrary, it made them feel so good about themselves to have a tall black man as mayor that they never once asked what kind of job he was doing — that he was black was bliss enough.

Two observations about the race for mayor of Los Angeles: Richard Riordan's headquarters, on bustling Ventura Boulevard in Sherman Oaks, have an open, festive, Fourth-of-July air. Woo's headquarters, in contrast, are on a semi-deserted side street on the edge of Chinatown (the sixth floor of the Lipobank building). There are no signs, posters, or anything except a small note on the lobby directory to indicate that Woo is in the building at all. The upstairs suite with its soiled carpet and nondescript offices is more reminiscent of the back room at the lesbian mother co-dependency hotline office two weeks after their grant expired than the thriving nerve center of the city's next mayor. The only thing that gives the place any character at all is a rubber chicken attached to the wall outside one office door — that and a poster showing Ronald Reagan endorsing Richard Riordan (an admonition to the Woo campaign workers not to forget what they see as Riordan's fatal flaw — that he's rich and white and has been endorsed by Ronald Reagan).



THE SECOND observation concerns Woo himself and the kind of person most of us would like to have heading the city as we stumble headlong into the 21st century. Right after the April 20 election (in which Woo received 24 percent of the vote to Riordan's 33 percent) Woo held a press conference at the Biltmore Hotel to launch his counterattack for the June 6 runoff. It was supposed to have been a victory celebration (a bare two months previously he was leading

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Riordan by 16 points), but his surprisingly lackluster second-place finish the previous evening suddenly left his campaign surrounded by a miasmic cloud of cold toad sweat, and no one knew it more than Woo.

"This is," he said, counter-attacking valiantly, "the first day for the runoff campaign for mayor of Los Angeles. The choice couldn't be more clear. It is a choice between reliving the past or moving ahead; it is a choice between fear and hope, between retreat and reform. It is a choice between a candidate who wants to bribe voters and a campaign that seeks to inspire and unite them."

Woo concluded his opening remarks by noting that this was the most important race for mayor of this city since 1929 (the last time a Republican was in office.) "We can't change L.A. with the same old politics," he told the assembled crowd of reporters and cameramen. "If we are going to move L.A. in a new direction, let's start with this campaign."

Woo's offices are more reminiscent of the back room at the lesbian mother co-dependency hotline office two weeks after their grant expired than the thriving nerve center of the city's next mayor.

As a campaign speech, Woo's effort was passable if predictable. The problem was Woo. Not only didn't he look like a leader, he didn't look like someone you would trust to lead you to the rest room, let alone lead a bankrupt, morally bereft, and disintegrating city to peace, prosperity, and inter-ethnic harmony. His whole manner struck a false note. He was trying too hard to come across forceful and decisive. He looked like a utility infielder who was 0-for-24. His lean jaw jutted so much it looked like the creature from *Alien* snapping at Sigourney Weaver.

He was given no quarter by the reporters either. I had assumed that the news media, liberal as they are, would pretty much give Woo a free ride (either that or ask policy wonk technical questions). Instead, the reporters ripped into him with surprising savagery and even sarcasm. I don't know why. Maybe reporters have more integrity than I usually give them credit for. Maybe they'd been covering Woo so long they only knew too well what he was like. Or most likely of all, perhaps, in their view Woo had committed the ultimate sin — he had defeated more deserving liberal candidates without being capable of winning the runoff election himself.

"How come you lost so bad?" sneered one reporter.

"I'm happy with the way the election turned out," said Woo. "Now we can get beyond 24 people and it has come down to a very clear choice."

How can you in good conscience blast Riordan as the rich candidate trying to buy the election, asked another, when you come from a wealthy family too and to the average voter you're both in the stratosphere?

"There is absolutely no comparison," said Woo, looking indignant that anyone would even try to bring up the subject. "Dick Riordan has a fortune of at least $100 million. He says he will spend whatever it takes to win the election. What I'm saying is that Los Angeles should not be up for sale to the highest bidder who has the most money. To try and compare Dick Riordan's background to my background is utterly ridiculous."

The press conference lasted perhaps another 10 minutes, but there wasn't any news. No matter what reporters asked him, Woo would find a way to turn the answer to his theme of the day — that Riordan was a "Reagan Republican" who "represents the past," believes in "trickle down" economics and is perfectly willing to let a few people get rich "while everyone else loses their jobs."

WELL, WHAT about it, I asked *L.A. Times* political columnist Bill Boyarsky who was standing around at the Riordan election night party at the Radisson Hotel in Sherman Oaks waiting for Riordan to deliver his victory speech. "If Woo calls Riordan a Reagan Republican, won't that hurt him in a city with a preponderance of liberal voters?"

Boyarsky was unimpressed. "So what? Riordan can just call him 'Sanctuary Mike'." He was referring to Woo's abortive 1985 efforts to have Los Angeles declared a "city of sanctuary" for Central American political refugees — an idea the *Los Angeles Times* had initially declared a "stunning political triumph" for Woo, who was only 34 at the time and newly elected to the City Council. But within two months, such a popular backlash was building against the declaration (Councilman Ernani Bernardi had threatened to put a voter initiative on the ballot to reverse it) that Woo voluntarily watered it down, agreeing to remove the word "sanctu-

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ary" in exchange for Bernardi's dropping his initiative.

Afterward, Woo, typically, said he had no regrets about the outcome. But the truth was he had taken a high inside fast ball right between the eyes. "He didn't go to the mat," said one City Hall observer. "This was his issue and the first thing out of the block he backs away from it."

IT WAS the beginning of a reputation that has followed Woo ever since: when the going gets tough, Woo starts waffling; he has too many different constituencies to placate; he reeks of someone who learned his values in the left wing utopianism of U.C. Santa Cruz; he's never held a real job outside of government; he's so used to speaking out of both sides of his mouth that when *Newsweek* recently asked him what to call the April 1992 Los Angeles conflagration, he performed what the *Los Angeles Times* called "a double half-twisting somersault dismount," calling the unrest an "uprising in African-American neighborhoods" and a "riot in other parts of the city."

Actually, Riordan's hardly any better on the "riot" question. Addressing a black audience last March, Riordan found he just couldn't get "riot" out of his mouth when talking about what everyone else for the last three decades has been calling the 1965 Watts Riots. He hesitated so long in fact there were some in the audience who thought he'd had a stroke. When finally he settled on what he considered the most acceptable word — "rebellion" — the audience burst out laughing.

His inability to say "riot" notwithstanding, is it possible that Riordan might actually win the run-off?

THERE IS a strain of thought, very popular among political consultants (at least it was popular before the April 20 election) that Los Angeles is too liberal a city ever to elect a rich white Republican. "If Woo is able to articulate the partisan progressive message," says political consultant Rick Taylor, "it will be very tough for Riordan." The other problem, says Taylor, is that Riordan isn't a professional politician — "He has the potential to make that major *faux pax*."

In fact he already has. Accompanied by a reporter from a Texas newspaper during a campaign tour in Bel-Air, Riordan spoke with an elderly white woman who invited him into her living room and said, "Black people are just awful. Don't you think so?" To which Riordan replied, "some of them." Although the sentiment was unremarkable on its face, it was still a stunningly impolitic thing to say in front of a reporter when you're running for mayor. Worst of all, Riordan subsequently denied having made the remark even though other reporters said it was audible on the tape.

On the other hand, there is a sense with Riordan that he learns from his mistakes. Before he gave his election night victory speech at the Radisson, he was introduced by an Asian woman (his campaign manager), two black men, and a Latino woman. His campaign mailer "Making L.A. Change" features endorsements from blacks, Hispanics, Jews, senior citizens, and (if I'm not mistaken) a Vietnamese family. His campaign literature (all very professionally produced) has so much cultural diversity it looks like one of those World War II army movies where each platoon always had a Jew, a Brooklyn Italian, a hillbilly, a farm boy, and a sensitive bookish type with glasses.

Despite his wealth, Princeton education, and dinners at the Jonathan Club, Riordan is by no means a polished speaker. When he's excited his syntax gets as tangled as Dwight Eisenhower's (one of his personal heroes). Still, on election night one felt that the man had a rough honesty that was almost touching at times. Giving a series of one-on-one interviews to a succession of TV on-camera reporters, he was so wired — despite his

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pale, watery, red-rimmed eyes — his hands vibrated at his sides and, when he barked out his responses to the reporter's questions, the wattles under his chin fairly quivered with conviction.

I have a notion about Riordan. *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Charles McCabe once said that the best drinking partners were people who had suffered a great failure in life. Riordan hasn't suffered any great business failures. To the contrary, he's been spectacularly successful as a lawyer, land developer, and investment banker. But he's suffered five personal tragedies: he lost a 5-year-old sister to a brain tumor, a 35-year-old sister to a fire, and a 41-year-old brother to a mudslide. Then a decade ago he suffered perhaps two of the worst tragedies that can befall any man — an adult son drowned while scuba-diving in kelp and a teen-age daughter died of bulimia after Riordan divorced her mother. Riordan may be rich. He may consort with movers and shakers, but he's suffered deeply enough perhaps to be someone who truly cares about things other than money too. At least that's my hope.

As for Woo, at least in his public persona, he remains absolutely confident that he can beat Riordan. Although he received fewer votes than Riordan in the April 20 election, he says he actually won that race when you consider that Riordan had no competition for the white conservative vote while Woo had to split the liberal vote with Joel Wachs, Richard Katz, Linda Griego, Stan Sanders, and Nate Holden. When you add those votes to Woo's total, he says, the election's in the bag.

It's a plausible argument on its face. The only thing, my friend the long-time City Hall insider tells me, is that Woo has about as much chance of picking up those other votes as he does of levitating City Hall by crossing his legs and saying a mantra. "Griego might support Woo," she says. "But Wachs hates him, Katz hates him, and Holden doesn't consider him a friend. I haven't talked to anyone in City Hall who thinks Woo has what it takes to be mayor. Everyone I know is working for Riordan."

AS FOR the supposed kiss of death — that Riordan is a rich, white, Reagan Republican — my friend says that she, for one, doesn't "give a s*** that he is Republican and rich. The voters see him as someone who can pull off major deals. It also doesn't offend me that Dick Riordan can support his campaign. That's what this country is all about. Woo claims that Riordan earned his money on the backs of other people. Well that's the capitalist system. That's the system we live under. I mean, what do you think — Woo's father doesn't earn his money on the backs of other people? At least Riordan earned his money. He didn't win it in the lottery."

Prior to the April 20 election, there was a general consensus among pundits and analysts that Riordan couldn't win — when push came to shove most of the voters would rally around Woo. "But I'll tell you something," says Joe Farah, a Sacramento-based political editor, "anyone who bets against Riordan is out of his mind. He got one out of every three votes cast in a 24-man race. Early on, Woo had 17 percent and later 24 percent of the vote. He never gained any more votes after that. Riordan started from nowhere and during the course of the campaign went on to pick up 33 percent of the vote."

As for Woo picking up the supporters of *all* the other liberal candidates, Farah says it just isn't going to happen. "This is not going to be L.A. city politics as usual where the most liberal guy in the race wins. Woo's a policy wonk. He's not authoritative. The average person in the street doesn't get into policy issues. They react on a gut level. And to them Mike Woo is not mayoral material. The [April 20] election was an absolute slaughter. I think it is all over. I think we can safely start referring to Riordan as Mayor Riordan now." CPR

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In the Vanguard of the Vanguard:

The Black Panther Killer Elite

Aided by Time magazine, MacNeil/Lehrer, and the Los Angeles Times, Elaine Brown has managed to sugarcoat her career as a political gangster, presenting herself as a feminist heroine and female victim.

DAVID HOROWITZ

THE ARRIVAL of Elaine Brown's Black Panther memoir, *A Taste of Power,* in March sent a chill into my marrow. The author's face on the dust jacket was different from the one I remembered, but I could still see the menace I knew so well underneath.

I first met Elaine in 1974, during a summer that had been disastrous for Black Panther Party Leader Huey Newton. Reports had appeared in the press locating him at the scene of a drive-by shooting at an "after hours" club. He was indicted for pistol-whipping a middle-aged black tailor named Preston Callins with a .357 magnum, for brawling with two police officers in an Oakland bar, and for murdering a 17-year-old prostitute named Kathleen Smith. When the day arrived for his arraignment in this last matter, Huey failed to show. Assisted by the Panthers' Hollywood supporters, he had fled to Cuba. With Huey gone, Elaine took over the reins of the Party and seemed to run it until 1977 when, unable to stomach exile any longer, Huey suddenly returned. Elaine left for Los Angeles, never to return.

Elaine Brown emerged from obscurity early this year. She had been living with a wealthy French industrialist in Paris. Now she was back in America promoting *A Taste of Power,* published by a major New York publisher, with all the fanfare of a major New York offering.

With her usual adroitness, Elaine has managed to sugarcoat her career as a political gangster by presenting herself as a feminist heroine and female victim. "What Elaine Brown writes is so astonishing," croons novelist Alice Walker from the dust jacket, "at times it is even difficult to believe she survived it. And yet she did, bringing us that amazing light of the black woman's magical resilience, in the gloominess of our bitter despair." "A stunning picture of a black woman's coming of age in America," concurs *Kirkus Reviews.* "Put it on the shelf beside *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*" To the *Los Angeles Times'* Carolyn See, it is "beautiful, touching,.. astonishing ... Movie makers, where are you?" (In fact, Suzanne DePasse, producer of *Lonesome Dove,* who appears to have been a guiding spirit behind the book is planning a major motion picture of Elaine's life.) *Time's* review invokes Che Guevara's claim that "the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love," and comments: "In the end, Brown discovers, love is the most demanding political act of all."

Elaine, who reportedly received a $450,000 advance from Pantheon Books, toured the book circuit, doing radio and television shows from coast to coast, including a segment of the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour,* where she appeared on a panel chaired by Charlayne Hunter Gault as an authority on black America. At Cody's Books in Berkeley, two hundred radical nostalgists came to hear her, flanked by her "bodyguard," Huey's old gunman, Flores Forbes.

I read the book and, jaded though I was, still was amazed by this reception. *A Taste of Power* is, in its bloody prose, and despite the falsehoods designed to protect the guilty, the self-revelation of a sociopath, of the Elaine I knew.

"I FELT JUSTIFIED in trying to slap the life out of her." This is the way Elaine introduces an incident in which she at-

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tempted to retrieve some poems from a radical lawyer named Elaine Wenders. The poems had been written by Johnny Spain, a Panther who participated in Black Panther George Jackson's bloody attempt to escape from San Quentin. Elaine decribes how she entered Wenders' office, flanked by two female lieutenants, slapped Wenders' face and proceeded to tear the room apart, emptying desk drawers and files onto the floor, slapping the terrified and now weeping lawyer again, and finally issuing an ultimatum: "I gave her twenty-four hours to deliver the poems to me, lest her office be blown off the map."

Because Wenders worked in the office of Charles Garry, Huey's personal attorney, Elaine's thuggery produced some mild repercussions. She was called for a "reprimand" by Huey, who laughingly told her she was a "terrorist." The reprimand apparently still stings and Elaine even now feels compelled to justify the violence that others considered impolitic: "It is impossible to summarize the biological response to an act of will in a life of submission. It would be to capture the deliciousness of chocolate, the arousing aroma of a man or a perfume, the feel of water to the dry throat. What I had begun to experience was the sensation of personal freedom, like the tremor before orgasm. The Black Panther Party had awakened that thirst in me. And it had given me the power to satisfy it."

The thirst for violence is a prominent feature of this self-portrait: "It is a sensuous thing to know that at one's will an enemy can be struck down," Elaine continues. In another passage she gives one of many instances of the pleasure. It is a revenge exacted, after she becomes head of the Party, on a former Panther lover named Steve, who had beaten her years before.

Steve is lured to a meeting where he finds himself looking down the barrel of a shotgun. While Elaine's enforcer, Larry Henson, holds Steve at gunpoint, Elaine unleashes four members of the Panther "Squad" — an enforcer group that Huey had organized inside the Party to maintain discipline — including the 400-pound "Big Bob," on her victim: "Four men were upon him now ... Steve struggled for survival under the many feet stomping him ... Their punishment became unmerciful. When he tried to protect his body by taking the fetal position, his head became the object of their feet. The floor was rumbling, as though a platoon of pneumatic drills were breaking through its foundation. Blood was everywhere. Steve's face disappeared."

The taste for violence is as pervasive in Elaine's account as is the appetite to justify it in the name of the revolutionary cause. She describes the scene in Huey's apartment just after he had pistol-whipped the middle-aged black tailor Preston Callins with a .357 magnum. (Callins required brain surgery to repair the damage): "Callins's blood now stained the penthouse ceilings and carpets and walls and plants, and [Huey's wife's] clothes, even the fluffy blue-and-white towels in the bathroom." This is Elaine's reaction to the scene: "While I noted Huey's irreverent attitude about the whole affair, it occurred to me how little I, too, actually cared about Callins. He was neither a man nor a victim to me. I had come to believe everything would balance out in the revolutionary end. I also knew that being concerned about Callins was too costly, particularly in terms of my position in the Party. Yes, I thought, f*** Callins."

This Party of liberators enforced discipline on the black 'brothers and sisters' inside the organization with bull whips, the very symbol of the slave past.

Violence was not restricted to the Panthers' dealings with their enemies, but was an integral part of the Party's internal life as well. In what must be one of the sickest aspects of the entire Panther story, this Party of liberators enforced discipline on the black "brothers and sisters" inside the organization with *bull whips,* the very symbol of the slave past. In a scene that combines both the absurdity and pathology of the Party's daily routine, Elaine describes her own punishment under the Panther lash. She is ordered to strip to the waist by Chairman Bobby Seale and then subjected to ten strokes because she had missed an editorial deadline on the Black Panther newspaper.

A TASTE of Power inadvertently provides another service by describing how the Panthers originally grew out of criminal street gangs, and how the gang mentality remained the core of the Party's sense of itself even during the heyday of its political glory. Elaine writes with authority, having come into the Party through the Slausons, a forerunner of the Bloods and the Crips. The Slausons were enrolled *en masse* in the Party in 1967 by their leader, gangster Al "Bunchy" Carter, the "Mayor of Watts." Carter's enforcer, Frank Diggs, is one of Elaine's first Party heroes: "Frank Diggs, Captain Franco, was reputedly leader of the Panther underground. He had spent 12 years in Sing Sing prison in New York on

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robbery and murder charges." Captain Franco describes to Elaine and Ericka Huggins his revolutionary philosophy: "Other than making love to a Sister, downing a pig is the greatest feeling in the world. Have you ever seen a pig shot with a .45 automatic, Sister Elaine? ... Well, it's a magnificent sight." To the newly initiatied Panther, this is revolutionary truth: "In time, I began to see the dark reality of the revolution according to Franco, the revolution that was not some mystical battle of glory in some distant land of time. At the deepest level, there was blood, nothing but blood, unsanitized by political polemic. That was where Franco worked, in the vanguard of the vanguard ...."

THE PANTHERS were — just as the police and other Panther detractors said at the time — a criminal army at war with society and with its thin blue line of civic protectors. When Elaine took over the Party, even she was "stunned by the magnitude of the party's weaponry .... There were literally thousands of weapons. There were large numbers of AR-18 short automatic rifles, .308 scoped rifles, 30-30 Winchesters, .375 Magnum and other big-game rifles, .30 caliber Garands, M-15s and M-16s and other assorted automatic and semi-automatic rifles, Thompson submachine guns, M-59 Santa Fe Troopers, Boys .55 millimeter anti-tank guns, M-60 fully automatic machine guns, innumerable shotguns, and M-79 grenade launchers .... There were caches of crossbows and arrows, grenades, and miscellaneous explosive materials and devices."

I remember vividly an episode in the mid-'70s, when one of the Panther arms caches, a house on 29th Street in East Oakland, was raided by the police and 1,000 weapons including machine guns, grenade launchers, and anti-tank guns were uncovered. Party attorney Charles Garry held a press conference at which he claimed that the weapons were planted by the police and that the 29th Street house was a dormitory for teachers at the Panther school (which it also, in fact, was). Then Garry denounced the police raid as just one more repressive act in the ongoing government conspiracy to discredit the Panthers and destroy militant black leadership. Of course, all right-thinking progressives rallied to the Panthers' support.

And right-thinking progressives are still rallying. How else explain the spectacle attending the reception of Elaine's book? After all, this is not pre-glasnost Russia, where crimes were made to disappear into a politically controlled void. The story of the Panthers' crimes is not unknown. But it is either uninteresting or unbelievable to a progressive culture that still regards white racism as the primary cause of all ills in black America, and militant thugs like the Panthers as mere victims of politically inspired repression.

THE EXISTANCE of a Murder Incorporated in the heart of the American left is something the left really doesn't want to know or think about. Such knowledge would refute its most cherished self-understandings and beliefs. It would undermine the sense of rightous indignation that is the crucial starting point of a progressive attitude. It would explode the myths on which the attitude depends.

In the last two decades, for example, a vast literature has been produced on the "repression of the Panthers" by the FBI. The "Cointelpro" program to destabilize militant organizations and J. Edgar Hoover's infamous memo about the dangers of a "black messiah" are more familiar to today's college students probably than the operations of the KGB or the text of Magna Carta. In *A Taste of Power,* Elaine Brown constantly invokes the FBI specter (as she did while leader of the Party) to justify Panther outrages and make them "understandable" as the hyper-reflexes of a necessary paranoia, produced by the pervasive government threat. A variation of this myth is the basic underpinning of the radical mind-set. Like Oliver Stone's fantasies of military-industrial conspiracy, it justifies the radical's limitless rage against America itself.

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On the other hand, even in authoritative accounts, like William O'Reilly's *Racial Matters,* the actual "Cointelpro" program never amounted to much more than a series of inept attempts to discredit and divide the Panthers by writing forged letters in their leaders' names. (According to O'Reilly's documents, FBI agents even suspended their campaign when they realized how murderous the Panthers actually were, and that their own intelligence pranks might cause real deaths.)

Familiarity with the Panthers' reality suggests a far different question from the only one that progressives have asked — Why so much surveillance of the Panthers? — namely: *Why so little?* Why had the FBI failed to apprehend the guilty not only in the murder of my friend Betty Van Patter but in more than a dozen others? Why were the Panthers able to operate for so long as a criminal gang with a military arsenal, endangering the citizens of major American cities? How could they commit so many crimes — including extortion, arson, and murder — without being brought to the bar of justice?

These would seem obvious questions to ask, yet no one has. With the exception of a story that Peter Collier and I wrote, and two articles by Kate Coleman and Edward Jay Epstein that appeared 10 and 20 years ago, there has been no investigative reporting at all on the Panther crime wave. Nor has its reality been allowed to enter our understanding of the Sixties as reflected in the growing library of books about the epoch.

Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* is probably the most widely used academic text dealing with the Sixties era. As a 30-year inhabitant of Berkeley's progressive community, Gitlin is familiar with the principles and many of the details of the Panther story (and could easily have become more so by interviewing acquaintances and neighbors). Gitlin's sense of social injustice is so acute that he has been prominent in nearly every left-wing protest during the last three decades. In his book, he even describes his nausea over a commercial billboard which symbolizes to him the alienation produced by market society. Yet, his book does not mention Betty's death, nor any other concrete Panther crime, while its single allusion to possible Panther misdeeds is typically equivocated: "Panther leaders sometimes knew that their cadres were responsible for a good deal of mayhem, but under siege — in a ghetto under siege as a whole — they covered up for their own." Thus the Panther heroes of the New Left — Newton, Cleaver, Brown — are exonerated, while the guilty rank and file are absolved in light of the primary aggressions of the white power structure on the ghetto as a whole. (In fact, the Oakland ghetto was "under siege," but by the Panthers themselves.)

In another performance, that is also typical if marginally better than Gitlin's, Adam Hochschild, the publisher of *Mother Jones,* provides an instructive example of how unable the left is to confront the crimes committed in its midst. Tamara Van Patter worked for Hochschild at *Mother Jones,* yet his magazine — a veritable encyclopedia of American injustice in general — has never investigated her mother's case, or examined the realities of the Panther past. Hochschild has published an entire book on South Africa, a country about which he knows next to nothing, in which he freely condemns the injustice he finds everywhere in its social landscape. Yet he has not a scintilla of moral energy to spare for the crimes committed in his own political community.

The existance of a Murder Incorporated in the heart of the American left is something the left really doesn't want to know or think about.

But it is Hochschild's recent *New York Times* review of a new book by David Hilliard about the Panthers that is most revealing — not least, because its intention is to be critical. "Various party activists went to jail, on charges ranging from drug dealing to murder," he writes, pointedly not making the charges himself. Since progressives like Hochschild have systematically discredited the police view in matters where the Panthers are concerned, this leaves the question of their actual guilt effectively begged. Since Hochschild knows the truth, this equivocation is merely a concession, similar to Gitlin's, that the truth he knows is a truth the left does not want to hear. Therefore, he is silent.

SUMMING UP, Hochschild poses the crucial questions suggested to him by the Panther story: "Was the main reason for the Panthers' failure that Newton and other leaders never broke free of their petty-criminal backgrounds? Or did the vicious FBI destabilization campaign do them in?" Hochschild's fine moral discriminations perfectly define the parameters of political correctness on the Panther issue: The FBI is "vicious" for trying to protect ordinary citizens from a gang

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San Diego's Government-Sponsored Child Abuse Industry

An 8-year-old's rape set off a two and one-half year officially-sanctioned reign of terror directed not against the perpetrator but against the victim herself and her parents. And, yes, this happened in America. Similar cases are ongoing today.

by K. L. Billingsley

CHILD ABUSE is a serious problem and everyone agrees that society must protect children from abuse. But what happens when the abusers turn out to be the very agencies and organizations purporting to protect children? What happens when social workers look upon traditional families as repressive relics of an unenlightened past and see separating children from their parents as a form of liberation? And finally, what happens when anti-family ideological zeal is mixed with cold cash, in the form of massive government funding — funding that flows in direct proportion to how much "child abuse" by parents the social workers manage to "discover"? According to a San Diego County grand jury, *this* sort of abuse occurs much more often than most people realize.

In a series of devastating reports based on extensive research into child abuse cases from 1989 to 1992 in San Diego County, the grand jury found that the County Department of Social Services was running what it termed a highly secretive system characterized by "bias and zealotry" that is "incapable of policing its own." The reports charge that this system operates without effective checks on abuse and that up to 60 percent of the cases did not even need to be in the system — which, by the way, is the same percentage of false child abuse accusations in the nation as a whole according to Richard Wexler's national study, *Wounded Innocents.* The grand jury found "numerous instances in which social workers disobey court orders" and that social workers "lie routinely, even when under oath," that these "child protectors" tended to grab children first and ask questions later, and that even the foster-care system had been corrupted into a "baby-brokering business." Many people found these and other accusations by the grand jury hard to believe. But then the media discovered stories that made the grand jury charges actually appear understated. One celebrated case that began in 1989 (with related litigation continuing even today) revealed all the defects of the system.

In the spring of 1989, San Diego County child-protection authorities knew that Albert Raymond Carder, a convicted child molester, had been abducting girls through their windows and raping them in a San Diego neighborhood. Yet when 8-year-old Alicia Wade was raped in this way during May of that year, Carder was ignored. Instead, Alicia's father, Navy man James Wade, was charged with having committed the rape. Both father and daughter repeatedly denied the charge. Further, Alicia provided a detailed description of her attacker that pointed to Carder and a footprint left outside Alicia's window also matched Carder's shoe size.

Nonetheless, shortly after the crime was reported, social workers seized Alicia — an act known in the trade as a "parentectomy" — and farmed her out to therapist Kathleen Goodfriend of the La Mesa Village Counseling Group. They needed no warrant or other special authorization to do this. Under provisions of Senator Walter Mondale's 1974 "Family Protection Act," federal anti-child abuse funds are allocated only to state and local governments that grant immunity to social workers and anyone else involved in child abuse cases. Lured by federal dollars, California duly granted such immunity.

THE PRACTICAL effect of this brilliant provision has been to turn social workers loose to carry on more or less as high-handedly as they please, including seizing

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children from their parents with little or no cause or oversight, and with almost no recourse afforded to parents and children targeted in this way.

As the grand jury noted, the "therapy" to which Kathleen Goodfriend subjected Alicia had but one object: getting the child to name an "acceptable perpetrator," that is, the father. Until Alicia accused her father, she was held to be "in denial," a psychobabble incantation used to make the presumption of innocence disappear. This bogus "therapy" went on for *13 months!* Meanwhile, Alicia was placed in a series of foster homes. When her first foster mother decided the girl was telling the truth about her father's innocence and said so publicly, Alicia was transferred to a second foster home and the agency filed a protest against the uncooperative first foster mother.

When a foster mother more receptive to agency ideas was found for the girl, Goodfriend recruited her to join in pushing Alicia to accuse her dad, establishing a kind of tag-team effect that kept the pressure on day and night. Finally, Alicia gave in, naming her father as the rapist. She later testified she'd done so just to relieve the relentless pressure. This "disclosure," made by a child who had been under duress for more than a year, brought all the "therapy" to a screeching halt.

In the meantime, Alicia's parents had been faced, in effect, with a hostage situation. To get their child back, the Wades submitted themselves to various "therapies" demanded by the Social Service Agency. Fortunately, insurance covered the more than $250,000 they were charged for these humiliating procedures. But not so their legal fees — about $125,000 — which left the family in ruins.

LIKE VIRTUALLY all men accused of child abuse in San Diego, James Wade endured a session on the penile plethysmograph. A therapist wires the accused to a machine and subjects him to a display of erotica that can include child pornography. This bizarre test supposedly indicates a "pattern of arousal." The communist government of Czechoslovakia used the device to weed out those using claims of homosexuality to dodge the draft.

While this was going on (and still *before* Alicia's coerced accusation of her father), the "child protectors" were planning to terminate the Wades' parental rights permanently to allow Alicia to be adopted. They also threatened to seize their son Joshua.

Finally, on the basis of Alicia's 1990 accusation (but after several more months of delays), a trial was scheduled for James Wade. By now it was 1991. At this point, the San Diego police re-examined long neglected evidence: Alicia's semen-stained panties. DNA tests proved that Wade could *not* have been the attacker and pointed more strongly to Carder. In November of 1991, the court concluded James Wade's trial with a "true finding of innocence" on all charges — a far stronger exoneration than had he merely been found "not guilty." But this was not the end.

EVEN AFTER all that had happened, Deputy County Counsel E. Jane Via, who had once put Carder away when she worked for the DA's office, refused to consider charges against Carder and continued to go after James Wade. Perhaps Via wanted to avoid the further embarrassment that would have come from seeming to admit that Wade had been right all along. Whatever the explanation, even after James Wade had been exonerated, Via pushed to have Alicia adopted based on an earlier plea-bargain charge of "neglect." It was only the intervention of the grand jury that saved Alicia from being adopted away forever. So strange and contradictory was Via's behavior that the grand jury urged the state to investigate her.

After two and a half years, the system that purportedly was operating in Alicia's best interest returned her home — using a medicine to which she was allergic,

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without the glasses she wore when taken from her parents, and with no record of an opthomologist's check-up during the entire time she was under the system's benevolent care. The psychological damage will surely endure a lifetime.

The performance of the San Diego District Attorney's office has complemented Deputy County Counsel Via's mishandling of the Wade case. New DNA tests in late December of 1992 found a 100 percent match between genetic markers in Raymond Carder's blood and the semen evidence in the Wade case. But more than three years after the crime, the DA's office has yet to press rape charges, something the state or even the federal attorney general may want to investigate, or to press charges on their own. Instead, the DA's office justified its handling of the Wade case and defended Via, their former employee. Via's current boss, San Diego County Counsel Lloyd Harmon, maintained that the Wade case "was handled in a thorough and professional manner and with due concern for the rights and interests of all parties."

In 1990, after the longest trial in American history, more than $15 million in court costs, thousands of pages of testimony, and widespread hysteria, a jury acquitted Peggy McMartin Buckey and her son Raymond on 40 counts of child molestation.

One wonders what an unprofessional case might look like, although there are many candidates. The San Diego County grand jury found some *300 cases* during the 1989 to 1992 period with elements similar to those in Wade.

THE BEST-KNOWN case of the child abuse prevention system gone awry involved the McMartin pre-school in Los Angeles County. In August of 1983, a Manhattan Beach woman named Judy Johnson told police that one Raymond Buckey had sexually molested her son. The police sent a form letter to more than 200 families informing them of an investigation of the Buckey family, which ran the McMartin pre-school. The letter prejudiced the parents' minds before any charges had been laid, and soon wild stories of satanic abuse swirled everywhere. So eager to take action was District Attorney Robert Philibosian that he pressed charges while the investigation was yet in progress. He called this procedure "right and ethical" and said he would do the same again.

As it happens, Judy Johnson was a certified wing-nut. While the case dragged on, she accused five other men, including her husband, of molesting her son. She charged that an official of the Los Angeles School Board had been involved in the crimes. Johnson also claimed that a U.S. Marine had broken into her home and sodomized the family dog! Johnson died of a liver ailment before the trial began and her son did not testify. Judge William Pounders refused to allow subsequent testimony about the accuser's "problems."

To make their case the authorities relied on 360 interviews of the McMartin children by then unlicensed "therapist" Kee MacFarlane of the Children's Institute International. CII personnel used puppets, leading questions, and other subtly coercive methods to get the children to spill their "yucky stories." Video tapes of the interviews convinced the jury that the therapists had manipulated the children into making false accusations. Three children refused to testify and the prosecution dismissed 35 charges.

In January of 1990, after the longest trial in American history, more than $15 million in court costs, thousands of pages of testimony, and widespread hysteria, a jury acquitted Peggy McMartin Buckey and her son Raymond on 40 counts of child molestation. District Attorney Ira Reiner, who inherited the case from Philibosian, summarized the proceedings as "insane," and confirmed his stranglehold on the obvious by adding that "we have a justice system that, quite frankly, does not work." Many others have discovered that truth by direct experience. In fact, a case that may turn out to be McMartin II is currently in progress.

It involves one Dale Akiki, 35, who suffers from severe physical deformities but whom friends, neighbors, and fellow church members describe as popular, polite, gentle, and particularly dedicated to children. For more than a year, Akiki and his wife Gloria took care of children at Faith Chapel, a large church near San Diego. In 1988 some parents thought that Akiki's appearance might be frightening the children and the church duly replaced him. Several months later rumors about indecent exposure began to circulate about Akiki and his wife. Though these rumors could not be substantiated, the church asked Akiki to leave the congregation and

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called in the police. Most of the children denied that anything bad had happened, until they began undergoing Kee MacFarlane-style "therapy."

AFTER MONTHS of these sessions, the children began to claim that they had been dunked underwater, tied up, kicked and punched, urinated on, and other atrocities. There was also supposedly animal mutilation and the drinking of blood. Curiously, as the *San Diego Union-Tribune* pointed out, these hideous practices all appear on a checklist widely circulated at therapists' seminars and workshops on ritual abuse. One of the therapists and a social worker were co-authors of a hysterical report about ritual abuse, which says that violent satanic cults are as common as Rotary Clubs, something for which the FBI has found no evidence. Further, Akiki

(Please turn to page 34)

Observations — *James R. Dignan*

The Future of the Republican Party

"THE ONLY true conservative," Teddy Roosevelt admonished, "is the man who resolutely sets his face to the future." I believe this thought should guide the Republican Party, especially now. The politics of the seventies and eighties no longer reflect public concerns. What are those concerns in the 1990s?

First, people want a political party and candidates that speak clearly about our problems, give compelling answers, and stay true to their word. Public dissatisfaction with politics stems from politicians campaigning on one set of promises and, once in office, breaking them. Bill Clinton is just the latest example of a politician campaigning on a set of promises and then forgetting what he told us — beginning with his cavalier dismissal of his promise of a middle class tax cut. Instead, he is going to soak the middle class on behalf of his liberal spending agenda — not what the American public expected from a "New Democrat."

Second, we must realize there are certain things people want from life — opportunity, jobs, security, and a reasonable amount of fairness — and they want their political leaders to help them achieve these things. Republicans must develop compelling answers to show how these desires can best be met by employing our free market and personal liberty philosophy of government and economics.

For instance, just because people want clean air doesn't mean we have to create huge bureaucracies and regulations to achieve it. Private enterprise incentives will accomplish the same goal without the leaden hand of government. I see no reason why I can plan a world trip with just my American Express card and a telephone in a few hours, but have to wait weeks or months to get a building permit. Neither can the public. Thus, a key Republican objective is to make government more responsive.

Our Party platform reflects such innovative solutions, including: school choice, workfare instead of welfare, tax reductions that create jobs, safe streets and schools, securing our borders, tort and worker's comp reform, and a strong commitment to the family. If we become the party identified with government reform and economic growth, we'll be the majority party in California and America. We have a natural advantage over the Democrats on these themes. Democrats are ideologically opposed to economic growth and their ties to government unions prevent them from adopting serious government reform. For an illustration look no further than Bill Clinton's broken promise to reduce White House staff.

Third, our Party must understand the lessons of the Ross Perot movement: persuade people that your ideas are right to serve *their* interests. Then involve them in the political process. And keep your promises to them. Do that, and the people will become a GOP army that will not be beaten.

FOURTH, WE must learn to live with our Party's diversity. The Republican Party *is* a "big tent" coalition of various groups and individuals. But we can be united by a common dedication to smaller government, increased personal liberty, free market economics, strong defense, and strong families. Our differences aren't on these fundamentals, but on how best to achieve them through concrete policy. If we Republicans shape our message and reform our approach to Party building along these lines, we will succeed in 1994 and beyond. CPR

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Criticus

Myth, Culture, and the Easter Egg

G. B. Tennyson

IT WAS when I was dyeing eggs for and with some quite superannuated children who still insist upon seeing these colorful reminders of Easters past and promises of Easters yet to be that it struck me, struck with what I can only call mythic force. "It" was the realization, or I should say, the *experience* of the meaning of the Easter egg.

Even my four constant readers may well scoff at this declaration. Have we not all "always known," i.e., known for a long time or for as long as we can remember, that the reason for (or as we later came to call it, the "symbolism" of) the Easter egg is that it represents new life and that it is tied up with springtime, renewal of nature, rebirth, even perhaps, depending upon our distance from total secularization, the Resurrection? As for the Easter bunny and his distributing those eggs, that, of course, we all knew was a symbol of nature's fecundity, rabbits being known for their capacity for abundant reproduction.

Indeed some of us can remember when at Easter-time children were given not only rabbits as pets, but little baby chicks fresh from their eggs; and some of us can even remember when they used to color the chicks just as we did the eggs.

Thus we could rejoice not only in natural yellow chicks but also in green chicks, blue chicks, red chicks, and, my childish favorite I confess, purple chicks. It is true that most of these Easter pets came to unhappy ends, for reasons that will be obvious, especially if one is familiar with the habits of cats and dogs. And even before the Animal

Firsters were stalking the land, old-fashioned SPCA types pretty well drove the pet bunnies and tinted chicks out of polite Easter gift giving. (Query: Arkansas being the omphalos of the world of mass poultry production and yet simultaneously so little encumbered by environmentalism, do they still give colored chicks at Easter there? If so, this may require a Hillary Task Force.)

ALL THIS symbolism being known, then, what kind of "mythic" experience could *Criticus* possibly have over a cluster of painted and piebald Easter eggs? The answer is that it was the sudden realization, or as I am preferring to describe it, the sudden *experience,* that the egg was the Tomb and the apparently inert interior of the egg was the new life that would miraculously spring into being.

All wrapped up with that and in the same perception I realized that the hiding and hunting of Easter eggs enabled us to experience the search for the body missing from the Tomb on Easter day only to be found just round the corner or just over our shoulder or just beyond the turning. I even realized that the old game of cracking Easter eggs against one another must have signified the rolling away of the stone and probably the breaking of the shackles or bonds of death, with perhaps echoes of the Harrowing of Hell that tradition says occurred when Christ descended between the time of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

The point of all of the above is not to offer a restatement of the creeds, though of course they contain precisely this sort of idea in discursive, propositional form, but to indicate that it was in this instance *felt,* felt, one might say with Wordsworth, "in the blood, and felt along the heart"; and felt one must add by virtue of the *non*-discursive experience of the egg. It is as if to say that each of us holding an egg holds a little tomb with life in it. In Hopkins' words about spring, the newly laid eggs of the thrush look like "little low heavens."

The reader can imagine my chagrin when I picked up, of all unlikely and irreligious reading matter, the *Los Angeles Times* religion section on Saturday of Holy Week and found the following:

> Common to virtually all traditions are the ubiquitous Easter egg hunts

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that delight children. The egg, an ancient symbol of life, has long been adopted as suitable for celebrating the Resurrection.

Among Orthodox Christians it is customary to hold a contest in which two individuals tap their Easter eggs together to see whose egg will break first. "Cracking an egg symbolizes resurrection, the opening of the tomb," said the Very Rev. Father James T. Adams, dean of St. Sophia Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Los Angeles. The holder of the cracked egg says, "Christ is risen," and gives the egg to his or her partner, who replies, "Truly he has risen."

CONFRONTING THAT, I had to suppose that I was simply remembering similar things I had done, known, and read, linked dimly in my mind with the times I had attended an Orthodox Easter service one feature of which is the mass procession round the church (three times, as I recall, though the Orthodox being super-symbolic, it could have been nine) in search of the missing body and another feature of which is the distribution of those deep-dyed incarnadine red (the color of martyrdom) Orthodox eggs, the same sort that the devout also embed in specially baked Easter bread.

But that does not entirely explain it, for it wasn't, as I have said, simply the story or the idea of the Easter egg (leaving the bunny out, for that was not originally part of it) but the experience of it, which had previously eluded me, my perception in the past remaining on the level of symbolism or allegory. Now, symbolism and allegory can be potent things (men will die for the flag, we say, which is shorthand for dying for what the flag symbolizes), but what I am calling "mythic experience" is more potent yet.

By myth I do not mean some presumed untruth, as the skeptic dismissively uses the term, but rather what the most thoughtful and searching modern commentators on the idea of myth mean. Among these we number C. S. Lewis. He said that in myth "we come nearest to experiencing as a concrete what can otherwise be understood only as an abstraction." To experience in this way is powerfully intellectual, emotional, and aesthetic all at once. Such can be the power of even the humble Easter egg, if one is receptive to it. What has been dulled by time and repetition can come to life again, can be, as it were, resurrected to carry its weight of glory.

Out of myth arises what the Church has called *cultus,* something that in fact antedates Christianity and is a characteristic of all worship and all religions. In myth the story carries more meaning than any paraphrase can provide and gives rise to a "system of worship of a deity," as the dictionary defines cult.

The word stems from the Latin for "till," "cultivate," or "care for" a field. From this same source comes *culture,* first as an agricultural, later as a scientific term, and ultimately as a term for an entire social organization. In older usage it meant something such as we would today call a subculture, civilization being the preferred term for a totality of cultures, as in the now beleaguered term "western civilization," formerly taught at Stanford and other schools.

Still, the development is clear. Before there is civilization, there is culture; before there is culture there is *cultus.* If there is no underlying belief, there is no culture, no civilization. This is not meant as an argument or apology for Christianity or the truth of the Resurrection. This is meant as an argument for civilization. Pre- and non-Christian civilizations also rose out of an original core belief, always expressed in mythic terms. One striking thing about those myths, as people like Joseph Campbell and Mircea Eliade have taught us, is their underlying similarity, often quite uncanny, totally separated as groups were in the time of myth-making. Equally striking, though less often noted, is that when the myth died, the civilization withered and died as well. The boys who taunt the caged Cumaean sibyl in the waning days of Greek cultural dominance (see Petronius' *Satyricon* by way of Eliot's "Waste Land") ask her what she wants. "I want to die," the sibyl replies, for she knows that belief is dead, *cultus* is no more.

YES, CULTURE now has a breadth of meaning such as defies easy definition. On the one hand we speak of culture as the sum of ideas and thought and practice of a vast body of people (western culture, now used almost synonymous-

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ly with western civilization); on the other hand we speak of culture on a narrow and specific level, such as popular culture, drug culture, youth culture, American culture (sometimes such terms seem oxymorons), or in hierarchical terms, such as high and low culture, or in temporal terms, such as modern and ancient culture. Given such a range it is surprising that the word *culture* continues to bear a residual positive association. I believe that is because, if the word has any irreducible meaning at all, it means some core of belief around which the life of a group, a polity, a nation, a congeries of nations coheres. Without such a core, there is no coherence, and the center cannot hold. Even the drug culture coheres around something, namely drugs....

AT EASTERTIDE, the editor of this journal attended a concert of religious music and reported to *Criticus* (thus triggering the present discourse) that, the apparent degredation of what is usually called American "culture" notwithstanding, our "true culture" was still alive and well in such performances. Yes, next to true high culture the puerile moon-walk of a bleached and androgyne entertainer seems derisory. But if both do not refer back to a common core of belief (do they?), there is no larger, shared culture, only various subcultures or even anti-cultures, and the sibyl will want to die.

The threat to culture today is the loss of myth, which leaves a yawning gap into which anything may be put, the moon-walk being among the lesser offenders. If the mythic power of the egg, or whatever lies at the heart of the original *cultus,* be forgotten, wherewith will we resurrect the culture? CPR

BOOKS

Sex, Lies, and Senate Hearings

The Real Anita Hill: The Untold Story, by David Brock, The Free Press, 1993, 438 pages, $24.95, cloth.

Reviewed by Aram Bakshian, Jr.

IT SEEMS a lifetime ago that, on October 7, 1991, an obscure law instructor named Anita Hill held a press conference at the University of Oklahoma declaring her readiness to testify against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. Up until that moment, the confirmation proceedings had been uneventful. Thomas, while a man of unblemished reputation, was not a particularly distinguished jurist; to many, his nomination to succeed the late Thurgood Marshall seemed a cynical act of tokenism on the part of the Bush Administration, an open taunt to the Democrat Senate and the liberal establishment at large: You want a black? We'll give you a black, all right ... but a black conservative!

In the initial hearings, the Democrat majority on the Senate Judiciary Committee failed to make a dent in the nominee who — presumably because of his color — was treated with a nervous caution not usually characteristic of the likes of Howard Metzenbaum and Teddy Kennedy. All that changed when the Anita Hill bombshell burst, although the bursting, like the disintegration of a time release capsule, occurred over a period of time. It started as a vague hint of some kind of personal impropriety. Then it became a general allegation of sexual harassment. With each retelling, lurid new details were added, sometimes dubious or contradictory. For a few fleeting days, Ms. Hill even managed to confer celebrity status on Long Dong Silver and to put a sinister new slant to the old jingle that, "Things go better with Coke."

The Thomas forces panicked. Justice Thomas, to his credit, did not. His point blank denial of Hill's unproven charges, and his eloquent plea for fair treatment, turned public opinion in his favor. It says something about the American people that — at the time of the hearings, when they were seeing events, unedited, through their own eyes — a majority of blacks, whites, men, and women sided with Thomas and against Hill. Only in the months afterwards, as Ms. Hill has been lionized in article after article and interview after interview, has a politically correct, heroic feminist image of the episode begun to seep into the public psyche. Now investigative journalist David Brock has come up with a healthy corrective. *The Real Anita Hill* is a powerful indictment of the little band of liberal activists and Senate staffers, aided and abetted by cronies in the media, who conspired to sink the Thomas nomination through a sustained campaign of leaks, smears, and misrepresentations. Anita Hill emerges more as a pawn than a player in the game, trapped into testifying, suspiciously prone to adding to her allegations as pressure mounted, and unable to muster any persuasive evidence or first-hand supporting testimony.

Just who is the real Anita Hill? No Little Red Riding Hood she. In fact, she turns out to be almost the exact opposite of the straight-laced, conservative young churchgoer she was presented as during the hearings. On the basis of the record Mr. Brock assembles, the real Anita Hill is a less than impressive lawyer who, as her Washington career encountered failure after failure, developed an increasingly extreme sense of racial and sexual grievance. On the basis of her own published words — and Brock does a good job of tracing them down — the "real" Anita Hill can only be described as a radical feminist who sees sexists and racists under every bed.

Given this biased motivation, and the lack of any solid supporting evidence for her charges against Clarence Thomas, and they simply lose their credibility. During the hearings and their aftermath, you may have *wanted* to believe Anita Hill — espe-

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cially if you were a woman who had actually experienced sexual harassment yourself. You may have *wanted* to believe her if you opposed the Thomas nomination for other reasons. But, knowing what we now know, there was no support for believing her and serious reason to question both her motivation and the story she told.

BY CONTRAST, *all* of the witnesses who had worked closely with both Thomas and Hill at the Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission — many of them Democrats or apolitical career government employees — dismissed Hill's charges and expressed total confidence in Thomas's character and conduct, based on close professional and personal contact. Unfortunately for most viewers, this impressive battery of female witnesses was held off until after midnight, while most of the nation slept. Committee staffers also limited each of them to a two-minute statement. As that great champion of free speech, Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, put it at the time, "We already know what they're going to say." Whether the American people did or did not apparently did not matter.

Bit by bit, Mr. Brock separates the facts of the case from the canards. His conclusion is that the whole dreary business was due to the determination of a *camarilla* of judicial activists and their allies in the media and on Senate staffs (he calls them the "Shadow Senate") to use "any means necessary" to stop the confirmation of another conservative justice to the Reagan-Bush Supreme Court.

Inside every fat book there is a thin one struggling to free itself. If there is one fault to be found with *The Real Anita Hill* it is that Mr. Brock, in his zeal to explore every aspect of the case and leave no lead unfollowed, takes more than 400 pages to tell a story that could probably have been accommodated in 200. But the result is a devastating exposé of one of the shabbiest episodes in recent political history. How much does it matter? As Mr. Brock points out in his conclusion:

> ... when Anita Hill's totally unsubstantiated charge, rejected by an overwhelming majority of Americans only a year before, became enshrined as "the truth," Clarence Thomas was not the only party who was harmed. The American people were also harmed, since, as a result of this lamentable episode the public's faith and trust in the integrity of the Senate and the Supreme Court have been perhaps irreparably tarnished.

Not, however, if enough people read Mr. Brock's book.

Breeding Racism

A survey of the emerging literature on Affirmative Action's destructive failures: Herman Belz's *Equality Transformed* (Transaction Publications, 1991), Shelby Steele's *The Content of Our Character* (St. Martin's Press, 1990), Charles Sykes' *A Nation of Victims* (St. Martin's Press, 1992), Frederick Lynch's *Invisible Victims* (Praeger, 1991), Thomas Sowell's *Preferential Policies* (William Morrow, 1990), Myron Magnet's *The Dream and the Nightmare* (William Morrow, 1993), and Jared Taylor's *Paved With Good Intentions* (Carroll & Graff, 1992).

Reviewed by Glynn Custred

IN THE 1960s civil rights meant the protection of individuals against discrimination because of their race, ethnicity, or gender. Since then, however, it has come to mean the imposition of quotas in employment, college admissions, and the awarding of contracts on the basis of race, ethnicity, and gender. The issue goes deeper than quotas, however, since it involves a conflict between two diametrically opposed sets of basic principles: individual rights versus group entitlements, the equality of opportunity versus equality of results, and advancement according to merit versus politically enforced privilege. The outcome of this conflict will have enormous impact on how the country does business and how we deal with each other in the years to come.

Yet despite the revolutionary nature of this shift and its eventual consequences for the economy and social harmony, the elected branches of government, the academy, and the press have studiously ignored it. Fortunately, this reticence is now beginning to change as seen in the publication of an increasing number of books and articles over the past three years exploring the nature and the results of preferential policies. One such book is *Equality Transformed: A Quarter Century of Affirmative Action* by Herman Belz. In his study Belz carefully traces the process in Congress, in the courts, in enforcement agencies, and among civil rights groups whereby individual rights and equality of opportunity were transformed into something quite different. His conclusions are that this transformation is producing a corrosive effect within the country, especially on blacks, since it implies and supports the concept of perpetual black inferiority.

This is also the subject of Shelby Steele's thoughtful meditation on race in the United States entitled *The Content of Our Character*. Steele identifies a collective image of self and community centered on the notion of perpetual black victimhood which, he says, began as a self-defense mechanism, but which now causes blacks to withdraw from the opportunities now available to them. He also argues that a corresponding sense of guilt among white elites serves to support this debilitating image. Steele is a writer, not a social scientist, and thus bases his insights on personal experience and introspection. For those reasons he has been roundly criticized. Yet his characterization of a self-defeating self image centered on victimhood is supported by the work of a social scientist, anthropologist John Ogbu at the University of California Berkeley, who has studied black public school students in their own setting.

THE RESULTS of Ogbu's work have been published in several sources, most recently in the summer 1990 issue of *Daedalus* where he describes the mind set of those students in terms of what he calls a "culture of opposition" in which academic performance is considered "acting white" and

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thus avoided. The two works, by Steele the writer and Ogbu the social scientist, thus complement and mutually reinforce one another in their discussion of a serious problem within the black community itself.

THE CONCEPT of victimhood is the topic of a book by Charles Sykes entitled *A Nation of Victims: the Decay of American Culture.* The scope of this study is wider than race since it examines the way many individuals across the population, as well as select groups within it, have been redefined as victims, a status that relieves them of personal responsibility for their actions and their condition with increasingly deleterious results to the nation as a whole. In the area of civil rights this concept, which Sykes calls victimology, has served to redefine the concept of racism. Traditionally the word racism referred to the intention and the act of people to discriminate against others because of their race. Now it simply means a lack of statistical symmetry in certain occupations regardless of intention on the part of anyone. This has evolved as the doctrine of "disparate impact." It means that a company can be harassed and subjected to costly and sometimes counterproductive "remedies" in order to achieve court appointed statistical proportionality.

There is, however, overt and intentional discrimination in such procedures. This is the topic of *Invisible Victims* by Frederick Lynch, a book that documents injustices against white males that are incurred by the enforcement of racial and gender quotas. Since such reverse discrimination cannot be denied, and since its legality is ambiguous, its only defense is that "turn about is fair play;" or in the words of former Justice Thurgood Marshall, "now it's your turn." This is not the best way either to establish moral credibility for preferential policies or to assure social harmony, especially as economic security becomes an evermore salient issue.

Discrimination of any kind, however, besides being unfair, is also costly, as shown by Peter Brimlow and Leslie Spencer in their article "Affirmative Action" in the February 15 *Forbes.* Direct costs of enforcing quotas, say the authors, together with the cost to business for compliance ranges from $17 to $20 billion. Several indirect costs, however, must also be averaged into the total. One example is the lowered productivity that takes place when hiring and firing is done not strictly on merit, but according to racial and ethnic preferences as well. In many cases standards must be lowered to accommodate the quotas demanded by the government. In this regard the authors cite the work of industrial psychologist Frank Schmidt from the University of Iowa who says that when a "critical mass" of less competent workers is reached, the longer-established workers who are equipped for the job abandon their old high standards and conform to the new lower ones.

In all, say Brimlow and Spencer, recognizing the tentative nature of their estimates, the accumulated GNP shortfall of preferential policies was, in 1991, some four percent. The authors quote Richard Epstein, author of *Forbidden Grounds: The Case Against Employment Discrimination Laws* when he said that if we want to subsidize a "protected class," it could be done more effectively by simply giving them outright grants.

It is argued, however, that preferential policies are worth the cost since without them minorities would never have reached the level they now occupy. Yet Brimlow and Spencer claim that quotas have not decisively improved overall black employment. The real progress that has indeed been achieved, often overlooked in an effort to project the image of the perpetual victim, was not due to preferential policies, but rather to trends that began before the quota system was imposed. They quote Charles Murray, author of *Losing Ground* and *In Pursuit,* who says that "there's hardly a single outcome — black voting rights, access to public accommodation, employment, particularly in white collar jobs — that couldn't have been predicted on the basis of pre-1964 trend-lines."

Another investigation to see whether preferential policies work was done on an international scale by economist Thomas Sowell in his book *Preferential Policies: An International Perspective.* Sowell's conclusions are that such policies benefit not the people they were designed to help, but rather those already in the most advantageous positions. We can conclude from this that in the United States, given the changing climate of opinion, the enactment of laws based on the principles of individual rights, equality of opportunity and merit, and the increasing educational levels of blacks, that those who have apparently benefited from quotas would have made it anyway without them. Preferential policies, however, have a dark side, says Sowell, since they increase ethnic polarization everywhere they are enacted. Moreover, he says, they develop a life of their own for even those measures enacted on a temporary basis have not only remained, but have expanded in scope.

One reason fewer blacks are represented in the work place is that a higher proportion of them are found in the underclass. The development of this class in America, says journalist Myron Magnet in his recent book *The Dream and the Nightmare: the Sixties' Legacy to the Underclass,* is a recent thing, the product of cultural changes that took place in the 1960s. These changes, says Magnet, had a disproportionately negative impact on poorer Americans, leading to the development of a culture that discouraged work and marriage and that led to the pathologies we see today in the underclass. Magnet's contribution to an already revealing literature on this topic is to underscore the cultural, as well as the economic, aspects of the problem. In this sense his book complements the introspective work of Shelby Steele, the ethnographic investigations of John Ogbu, and the arguments of Charles Sykes.

JARED TAYLOR, in *Paved With Good Intentions,* gives us a detailed and brutally frank assessment of policies directed at the problem of race in the United States. He argues that it is not white racism that is the cause of the problem. In fact, the federal government has spent more than $2.5 trillion since the 1960s trying to remedy problems associated with a large percentage of the black population with very little good, and often with many unintended ill effects, to show for it. In essence, Taylor has turned the tables on the conventional treatment of the subject. Rather than cataloguing the failures of white society he amply cites those of black society and of the wasteful and misguided policies that have made them worse.

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Preferential policies in the United States are based on fallacies and corrosive concepts. They discriminate against innocent people. They are enormously costly in an economy that is facing serious internal dislocations and increasing competition from abroad. They do not begin to help the truly needy but, instead, create a system of racial and ethnic spoils that politicizes many who could make it on their own through other means. And they work to increase racial and ethnic resentment and, thus, social tension.

The contribution of these books and articles, as different in perspective and background as they are, serve to bring these facts to light. In this way they lay the groundwork for what should become a careful and rational debate on one of America's greatest and most enduring problems. CPR

Popular Culture

Hollywood's (Last?) Big Chance

Our Intrepid Correspondent Glimpses Signs of Hope in Tinsel Town

T. R. O'Neill-Lopez

HOLLYWOOD IS a community perpetually behind the times and out of touch. Its heroes are often criminals (*Hoffa,* Mafia dons, etc.). Its major villains are religion, business, and a National Socialist regime that passed out of existence nearly half a century ago. "The industry," as it is affectionately known, is a veritable Pentagon of political correctness, coupled with a fathomless appetite for sleaze. (All three networks produced movies about teenage murderess Amy Fisher, the "Long Island Lolita.") There are, however, a few signs that the bosses of the dream factories are starting to recognize the potential of stories that are not politically correct.

In 1991 Cuban pilot Orestes Lorenzo defected to Florida in an advanced MIG fighter. So eager was he to leave the island GULAG, whose dictatorship Clinton appointee Johnetta Cole has championed for years, that he left his family behind. But that was only because there was no room for them in the MIG. He had a plan.

Last December 19, Lorenzo flew a small private plane at wave-top height to Cuba, avoiding radar. He landed on a remote beach road where his family was waiting for him. Then he successfully pulled off the dangerous flight back to Miami where he was hailed as a hero. On the "Larry King Show" he pleaded with Fidel Castro to release other captive families. Word has now come that someone has optioned Lorenzo's story for a film. If it is eventually made, this film would be a good "vehicle" for Cuban actor Andy Garcia.

Escape stories make strong dramatic fare and countless thousands of them are out there, most from victims of the communist regimes that made border crossing an exciting experience. Disney was ahead of the game in the early '80s with *Night Crossing* about a family that escaped from East Berlin in a homemade balloon. It's well made and worth renting, just to see John Hurt call East Germany's Dictatorship of the Proletariat (its official name) "pigs." *Cinéma vérité* at last!

THERE ARE already signs that Hollywood's reluctance to demonize communism is weakening. That may be because former *apparatchiks* and KGB men are shopping their stuff around town. Last year's excellent *Inner Circle,* with Tom Hulce and Bob Hoskins, was the story of Stalin's projectionist.

HBO produced *Stalin* with Robert Duvall as the Great Dictator himself, the Pete Rose of genocide. Mind you, they didn't show the slaughter Stalin ordered. There are not enough extras and too little fake blood in the Western Hemisphere

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T. R. O'Neill-Lopez is California Political Review's *roving correspondent on Popular Culture.*

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for that. And the film hinted that the problem in the USSR was not the system, only the Bad Guys who had been in power. (As Hayek explained, the socialist system guarantees that the bad guys will end up on top, but that's another story.) But you did get the idea that Stalin was not, as Hollywood folk put it, "a warm person who is wonderful to work with."

The film was an encouraging sign, and several other goose-stepping communist dictators are waiting in the wings: besides Fidel, good movies could be made about Rumania's Ceacescu or Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov (who ordered the murder of *émigré* poet Georgi Markov), about Pol Pot (still crazy after all these years), Erich Hoenecker (who ordered East German border guards to shoot escapees), or Ethiopia's Mengistu, now safe in Zimbabwe, who spent millions on whiskey and weapons while thousands died of hunger in the streets. (We are the world!) Maybe — and this is a long shot — we could see a film about those dreary Vietnamese Stalinists Jane Fonda was so eager to defend. I would pay to see that one.

THERE ARE also some signs on the religious front. In spite of *Leap of Faith,* the six-hundred-and-sixty-seventh attempt to lampoon revivalists, there are signs that the dream factories may be having second thoughts about their anti-religion *jihad.* The November 1992 issue of *Journal,* published by the Writers Guild of America (the union of TV, film, and radio writers), included an article by Cardinal Roger Mahony of Los Angeles. By making films that reflect the values common to all American religious traditions, wrote the cardinal, "you will actualize what is deepest, richest, and most creative within you. By doing so you will also give something very special to your audiences."

In other words, fair treatment of religion will make for stronger dramatic fare. With both religion and politics, Hollywood now has a chance to redeem itself and improve its product. If they miss this one there may be no hope. CPR

San Diego's Government-Sponsored Child Abuse

(Continued from page 27)

supposedly snuck the children away to a secret house where the dastardly deeds took place. How he could accomplish all this in the short time when he was watching the children is not clear. Akiki cannot drive a car and has no license.

In May of 1991, Akiki, who has no criminal record, was arrested and has remained in jail ever since. He faces 49 counts of child abuse and three of kidnapping that could bring a sentence of 300 years. A judge denied bail even though virtually every one of the alleged victims recanted their charges and some of the parents have serious doubts.

Both Kathy Dobbins, the case's first investigator, and initial prosecutor Sally Penso believed there was too little evidence to press charges. Then a prominent San Diego businessman, whose three grandchildren were allegedly among Akiki's victims, approached San Diego District Attorney Edwin Miller, his fellow board member at the Child Abuse Prevention Foundation (CAPF). Local reporters declined to identify the businessman out of deference to the grandchildren, but, in fact, he and his company had given CAPF some $500,000. Miller promptly booted Penso off the Akiki case and assigned it to prosecutor Mary Avery, a ritual abuse true believer who is the principal founder of CAPF and also a board member. Avery and the wealthy businessman's wife also serve together on the board of the Commission on Children and Youth, another child abuse organization. And there is another fascinating connection in this case.

AVERY WAS not working in the DA's child abuse unit at the time but was given the case anyway. Harry Elias, now a judge, formerly headed that child abuse unit. He wanted to put Avery on the case because of its "complexity." Interestingly enough, Elias is married to Kee MacFarlane, the woman whose bogus interviews launched the McMartin debacle. It thus appears that DA Miller allowed his friends to pick their own prosecutor, one whose prejudices coincided with their own. The attention of Miller and others might have been better focused on policing the system.

Where is the oversight from Sacramento on these disturbing cases and travesties of justice? It would seem a reasonable view that brainwashing an 8-year-old child for 13 months into making a false charge constitutes malpractice, or even torture, and that someone who perpetrates such abuse should not be allowed to practice in the state of

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California. The state's Board of Behavioral Science Examiners has done nothing about Goodfriend, who still receives lucrative referrals from juvenile court.

THERAPISTS FIGHT over military clients, backed by the fathomless funds of CHAMPUS, the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services. Goodfriend bagged well over $10,000 for her interrogations of Alicia Wade. The grand jury was also surprised to learn that Goodfriend had taught the child how to masturbate "without any parental input or apparent interest by the child." When asked if Goodfriend's behavior might warrant some kind of censure, Judge Federico Castro said that she was "innocent until proven guilty," precisely the presumption of innocence denied to James Wade and countless others.

Since the penile plethysmograph can be easily fooled, cannot tell what happened in a given case, and cannot predict what will happen, the state should reconsider carefully continuing to allow its use. In some cases those who administer the tests are not even psychologists or psychiatrists. San Diego's Larry Corrigan, for example, is a social worker and does not have a Ph.D. According to some of his clients, Corrigan books those on CHAMPUS for more plethysmograph sessions than others. His tests include audio tracks with lurid kiddy-porn vignettes. Clients say that Corrigan, who refuses interviews, is now trying to talk the Navy into letting him treat the Tailhook offenders.

A new plethysmograph is being developed for females. If the state maintains use of these machines, all who work in the child-protection system should submit to mandatory plethysmograph testing. After all, they handle other people's children, largely unsupervised. And that is what this is about: unchecked power over the lives of innocent human beings.

The San Diego grand jury concluded that abuses exist because the system smothers its mistakes in a cloak of confidentiality. Both doctors and social workers in the system enjoy total immunity from prosecution. They cannot be sued even if they made erroneous diagnoses or judgments, with malicious intent, thereby causing untold suffering.

There seems to be little prospect for change until the presumption of innocence is restored, the monetary incentives are changed, and workers held responsible for their actions. On April 21, 1992, the Public Safety Committee of the California Assembly refused to lift social workers' immunity, even after hearing testimony from the Wades. An opponent of the measure warned of a "chilling effect on social workers," which seems to be precisely what is needed.

For another example, a San Diego social worker seized the daughter of Gavin O'Hara and placed her in the home of the social worker's sister, who was not a licensed foster parent, for purposes of adoption. Social workers told O'Hara that his being a Mormon made it more likely he would abuse his own daughter, which is like saying that being Amish makes it likely that one will become an arsonist. Why should the person who attempted a kind of officially sanctioned kidnapping remain employed as a social worker? Her punishment? A letter of reprimand. In California, being a social worker means never having to say you're sorry.

There is, however, broad-based support for reform. Republican Assemblywoman Kathleen Honeycutt has introduced a bill replacing social workers' total immunity with the "qualified immunity" given, for instance, the police. The California State Bar supports the measure. Riverside Republican Assemblyman Ray Haynes has proposed a bill to ban removing children from their homes on hearsay evidence.

SOCIAL WORKERS will lobby furiously against these and other measures, as will the California Welfare Directors Association, which represents departments of social service at the county level. Another major player is the Child Advocacy Institute, a consortium of child abuse organizations which has fought similar measures in the past with great success.

The state's oversight system has proved a complete failure. When they start to get serious about this problem there will be some signs. Anti-family zealots and corrupt bureaucrats who ruin innocent lives will start getting fired instead of being ignored or even promoted. And so-called therapists who brainwash children will start losing their licenses instead of getting more referrals. CPR

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The Black Panther Killer Elite

(Continued from page 23)

of murderers. The gangsters are perceived as victims of their backgrounds. As though the murder of Hochschild's friend Betty or the teenager Kathleen Smith were petty crimes, or the Panthers' social backgrounds could be made responsible for their individual deeds.

THE MYTH of Panther innocence must be preserved in the eyes of progressives like Gitlin and Hochschild in order to preserve the more important myth of society's guilt. The Panther rage that expressed itself in violence both verbal and physical must be seen as an intelligible response to social injustice, a cry of the oppressed. It cannot be seen as an injustice itself. That the violence may be *attractive* to both the Panthers and their supporters, that the rage may have nothing to do with the oppressions of white America is simply unthinkable.

Yet that is just what my Panther experience taught me. Huey Newton had two older brothers whom he sought to trump. One was a gangster, just like Huey — only without the political veneer; the other was a college professor, mild and law-abiding. At Huey's funeral, the eulogists referred to "Dr. Newton," acknowledging the Ph.D. Huey had strong-armed out of the professors at UC Santa Cruz's "History of Consciousness" program in the years following his return from Cuba. Although Huey was black in America, he was not without choices and achievements — being a criminal among them. It demeans him to think he was.

Elaine Brown was the bastard child of a black professional who lived in the wealthy section of Germantown. Her grandfather had been a secretary to Booker T. Washington and a cabinet advisor to Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War. Elaine's father rejected her, replacing her with an adopted daughter and leaving her to scramble for survival in a North Philly ghetto. When she discovered this as a junior high school student, it triggered in Elaine a life of consuming rage: "I wanted to repeal God's works, which were not good," is the way she describes her reaction. Elaine's loss of her birthright had nothing to do with white America or white racism. Later she meets a wealthy white radical named Jay Kennedy who gives her a political education. The political ideas of the left provide a racial language for Elaine with which to express and justify her rage: "Don't you see, Jay, you were right. It was not my mother or my father. It was not North Philly or Germantown. My pain is not unique. Others, like me, are suffering. There is only one, ultimate source of our suffering — the white man and his greed. The white man has stolen everything from us."

IN THE end, it is self-justification — ends that will purify any means — that is what is attractive to criminals like Elaine and the Panthers in the political ideology of the left. It is the same hierarchy of ends over means that produces the silences that protects their crimes.

In a moment of truth, recorded in her book, Elaine herself pierces the veil of justification to the reality underneath. In the wake of the brutal and senseless whipping of Bobby Seale by a leader insane with drugs and political adulation, and a coterie too drugged with power themselves to resist, she reflects: "Faith was all there was. If I did not believe in the ultimate rightness of our goals and our party, then what we did, what Huey was doing, what he was, what *I* was, was horrible." CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 9)

your praises. Like Pete Wilson, Bob Carpenter appears to prefer flatterers to friends. A clearer illustration of the sad state of GOP leadership is scarcely imaginable: I sought Mr. Carpenter out specifically to invite his or Dr. del Junco's response to any and all points raised in CPR's Winter issue. He responded, not with facts and arguments, but with a pathetic attempt at bullying all too reminiscent of Governor Wilson's destructive "leadership" style. He interprets the 11th commandment with audacious hypocrisy, blithely invoking it at the very moment he is slamming the door on deviation from his narrow, little party line.

In his own revealing way, Mr. Carpenter has responded to the Winter CPR — and has reconfirmed that what ails his Party is best described as a death wish.

Liars' Loop

Just a note to let you know I am very pleased with my decision to subscribe to *CPR* — one of the few that does not consider the readership to be low grade morons.

I like the concept of "The Liars' Corner." Come to think of it, a new weekly publication of the same name would need a staff of several hundred just to keep up with California politicians. I know that whatever goes around, comes around. With that presupposition, the name I would prefer is: "Liars' Loop." Whenever you have an item on Senator Boxer, the subheading "Boxer Shorts" could be employed.

Edward MacIsaac
San Diego

Muggeridge's Forgotten Prescience

I'm glad you reprinted Muggeridge's article ("The Decade of the Great Liberal Death Wish," *CPR*, Winter 1993). I'd forgotten how prescient it is.

Cary D. Nolan
San Jacinto CPR

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Edward MacIsaac
San Diego

Muggeridge's Forgotten Prescience

I'm glad you reprinted Muggeridge's article ("The Decade of the Great Liberal Death Wish," *CPR*, Winter 1993). I'd forgotten how prescient it is.

Cary D. Nolan
San Jacinto CPR

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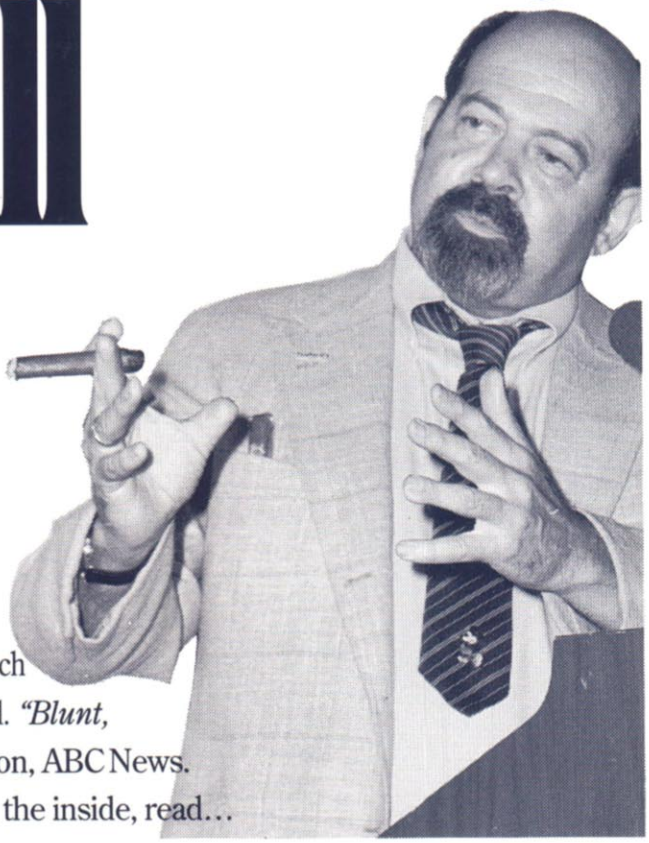

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